A HISTORY OF ORISSA

By
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

W. W. HUNTER'S *Orissa or the Vicissitudes of an Indian Province under native and British Rule* was published in the first volume of this work.

In the present volume we publish Andrew Stirling's two articles—*Orissa : Chronology* and *History* and *Religion, Antiquities, Temples and Civil Architecture,* which first appeared in Vol. 15 of the *Asiatic Researches* in 1822, John Beams' *Notes on the History of Orissa under the Muhammadan, Maratha and English Rule,* reproduced from *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. 52, Part I, 1882, and Dr. N. K. Sahu's paper—*Orissa from the Earliest Times to the Present Day.*

This volume brings the history of Orissa right upto the year 1947 when India achieved her independence.

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CHAPTER VI

ORISSA: CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

By Andrew Stirling

THE learned Oriyas of Cuttack maintain, that, in latter ages, upon the decline of the great monarchy of upper India, whose history seems destined to remain for ever buried in the darkness of fable and uncertain tradition, four principal thrones or races of Hindoo Princes ruled over the country, viz. the Narâpati, the Aswapati, the Chatter or Chatrapati, and the Gajapati. By the first they understand the Ram Rajas or Sovereigns of Teligana and the Carnatic, who opposed the earlier Mussulman invaders of the Deccan, under Sultan Ala-ud-din; the second throne they place in the Marhatta country, and intend to designate by the epithet, no doubt, the old and powerful Rajas of Deogir or Tagara, of whom frequent mention is made in Ferishtah; by the third[1] they mean apparently the celebrated line of Rajput Princes whose descendants are found at Ambher and Jyepur; the fourth is the title given to the monarchs who ruled over Orissa, from the earliest times of which any authentic records are preserved. The origin of these thrones or sovereignties, they trace back to the four great feudal vassals of an empire, which they firmly believe to have extended over the whole of Hindustan, from the commencement at least of the Cali yuga;[2] and they explain their titles by reference to the nominal offices held, or services performed by them, when in attendance on the Lord Paramount or supreme Raja at the Court of Hastina (Hastinapura) and Delhi. Thus the Narapati[3] is supposed by some to have been the commander of the armies: the Aswapati, the lord or master of the horse; the Chatrapati, the bearer of the imperial umbrella or standard of state; and the Gajapati, the master of elephants. Others have it that the epithets were derived from the designations of the four gates of the palace, at which the chiefs in question took their stations, when present at the capital.

The recollections preserved of these races of Princes are by

[1] Stirling is inclined to place the *Chatrapati* Rajas in the Marhatta country, as Sri Chatrapati was one of the titles adopted by the Peshwahs, and to him it seems reasonable to suppose that they may have borrowed it from an ancient local dynasty so designated.

[2] Kali Yuga, traditionally believed to have started from 3001 B.C.

[3] The titles imply respectively, "Lord of Men;" "Lord of horses;" "Lord of the Umbrella," and "Lord of Elephants", or as we should say, "master of, &c."

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no means confined to Orissa. In the *Canara Raja Padhati* translated by Dr. Buchanan, the fabulous monarchs are first described as usual beginning with Yudhishthira, and the author then states, "After this Narapati, Gajapati, and Aswapati, three thrones were established." He then details the Princes of the Narapati line, who ruled over that portion of the Deccan. They are now probably forgotten in upper India, but seem to have been perfectly well known and familiarly spoken of, even at Delhi, only two centuries ago. There is a highly curious passage in the Ayin Acberi,[4] where treating of the game of cards with which the Emperor Acber recreated his royal mind, the writer observes, "This is a well-known game. At first the pack consisted of twelve kings with eleven cards dependent upon each in the following order. First, *Aswaput*, the king of the horses. He is painted on horse back like the king of Delhi, with the Chutter, Alum, and other ensigns of royalty. Second, *Gujput*, the king of elephants, is mounted on an elephant like the king *of Orissa*. Third Nurput, the king of men. Like the king of Vijayapur, (Vijayanagara ?) he is seated on a throne and has different kinds of soldiers attending him on food," &c. &c.

It is of the fourth and probably least important race of Hindu monarchs of the middle ages, the Gajapatis[5] of Orissa, that I propose to offer an account in this part of my paper; but to render the chapter complete, I shall add a sketch of the history of the province down to the date of the British conquest, A. D. 1803.

The earlier histories of the country are of the legendary or fabulous class, copied from the Puranas, but embellished or disfigured by a plentiful admixture of local traditions. Their later annals assume an air of authenticity about the date of the accession of the family called the Kesari Vansa, 473 A.D.[6] prior to which the accounts are so replete with obvious falsehoods, contradiction, inconsistency, and anachronism, as to be equally unintelligible and unworthy of notice. The memory of a few great names and events, only, has been preserved up to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian æra, and to adapt these to their favorite system of chronology, the brahmins, who will never admit want of information on any subject, have been obliged to give an expansion to the reigns of their traditionary Rajas, in some cases of five or six hundred years, and in all, far beyond the natural or possible term of the human life.[7] As, however,

[4] Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl Allam.
[5] Derived from Gaja, an elephant, and pati (potens,) a master or potentate.
[6] This date also is not accepted by sober history.
[7] Stirling points out that Mill's following observation on Hindu history does not hold good with regard to Orissa; "whilst we receive accounts, the most precise and confident regarding the times of remote

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it will not be uninteresting to those curious in researches into Hindu antiquity, to learn what traditions the natives of this district have preserved regarding their history in the earlier ages, I shall begin my sketch of the contents of their annals from the remotest period to which they profess to go back.

The sources from which my information has been chiefly derived are, 1st. A work in Sanscrit called the *Vansavali*, belonging to a learned brahmin of Puri, said to have been originally composed by some of his ancestors three or four centuries back, and continued down in the family to the present date. 2d. The chapter of the *Mandala Panji* or Records preserved in the temple of Jagannath, called the *Raj Charitra* or "Annals of the Kings" in the Uria language, which records are stated to have been commenced upon more than six centuries back, and to have been since regularly kept up. 3d. Another Vansavali or Genealogy written in Sanscrit on leaves of the Palmyra tree, procured from a brahmin living in the family of the Raja of Puttia Sarengerh, one of the branches of the royal house of Orissa. Less certain and trust-worthy guides than the above, are to be met with in the numerous Genealogies, or Bansabali Pothis, as they are vulgarly termed, possessed by nearly every Panjia or Almanac maker in the province. They in general abound with errors and inconsistencies, but cocasionally a few facts or illustrations may be gleaned from them.[8]

Conformably with the notion, above stated, of the existence of a great empire at Delhi, to which all other Rajas stood in a vassal and fendatory relation, the annals of Orissa commence with the death of Krishna, the opening of the Cali yuga or evil age, 3001 B. C. and the reigns of Jejishtee Deo, or Yudhishthira, Parikshita and Janamejaya. Twelve years after the setting in of the Cali yuga, in the month of Cheyte,[9] when the moon was in the lunar mansion or Nakshatra called Purv Asarh, at the moment of the rising of the seven Rishis, or constellation, called the Great Bear, Parikshita the son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Arjun, is said to have ascended the imperial throne of India.

antiquity, not a name of a prince in after ages is presented in Hindu records. A great prince, named Vicramaditya, is said to have extended widely his conquests and dominion and to have reigned at Magudha 396 years after Chandrabija. From that time *even fiction is silent*. We hear no more of the Hindus and their transactions till the era of Mohammedan conquest; when the Persians alone become our instructors." The writings called classical indeed conduct us no further than the period indicated in the above passage, but the detail which Stirling proposes to give will show (whatever may be thought of the value or authenticity of his materials) that the Hindus of this province *do* possess accounts, which carry an appearance of truth, and which they themselves believe, of their more modern kings and their actions.

[8] Stirling has little access to Archaeological sources and his following accounts are mostly traditional.

[9] Chaitra, roughly conforming to the month of April.

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He reigned 757 years, and his son Janamejaya 512 years. There is an ancient temple at Agrahat in killah Daljura about eight miles north of the town of Cuttack, which the brahmins of the place say was visited by this Raja Janamejaya during his progress over India, with all the feudatory Rajas of the country in his train; and they point out the spot where he performed the sacrifice for the destruction of serpents, to revenge the death of his father.[10] The circumstance merits notice from its tallying with a somewhat similar tradition, recorded in an inscription at Bednore, communicated to the Asiatic Society by the late Colonel Mackenzie, (vide *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix.) and what is further curious connected with the place, is, that the ground around is strewed with numerous small stone pillars, shaped like temples in miniature about three feet long, exatly resembling those found in Khurda at an acknowledged seat of Jain worship, which the brahmins of Agrahat say amounted formerly to several hundreds, and were set up by Raja Janamejaya to commemorate the great sacrifice there performed; or according to other accounts, to stand as substitutes for those Rajas or Vassal Lords of India, who were not in attendance at the ceremony.

After these celebrated heroes of Indian antiquity, we have a list of other Princes, whose names I have nowhere else met, viz. eight Rajas who reign for the moderate space of 1636 years. Many of them are obviously merely Rajas of the province, but in relating the succession of reigns, no distinction is drawn between those personages who were local or dependant princes, and those whom it is intended to represent as the monarchs of a large part of India. Goutama Deo, the second in succession from Janamejaya is said to have added the country from the Mahendra Mali hills in Ganjam, as far as the Godaveri, to his dominions. Mahendra Deo, his son, founds Raj Mahendri or Rajamundry. Shewak Deo, a very religious Prince is assiduous in his devotion at the temple of Jagannath. In the reign of Bajranath Deo, the Yavanas are said to invade the country in great numbers from Babul Des, explained to mean Iran and Cabul, but they are finally driven back. Then follows an incomprehensible story, involving some strange anachronism, about Imarut or Himarut Khan, who comes from Delhi with a large army and fights the Raja. His successor, Sarsankh Deo, a warlike prince, is attacked by another Khan, whose name is variously written, and always so incorrectly spelt, that it is impossible to unravel it. The Raja defeats the invader and emboldened by his success, advances upon Delhi, and reduces a great part of the

[10] Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta (second half of the 8th century A.D.), the founder of the Somavamsi rule in Orissa is believed to have performed a Vedic sacrifice at Agrahat. He is traditionally regarded as the founder of Chauduar Kataka. Very likely he is confounded by the local people with Janamejaya of the epic fame.

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country. In the reign of Hans or Hangsha Deo, the Yavanas again invade the country in great force from Cashmir, and many bloody battles ensue.

Respecting these Yavanas, who are so often mentioned in the legendary portion of Orissan history, I should observe that the word in all the original Uriya accounts is written *Jaban,* and the Indians whom I have employed to translate both these and the Sanscrit Vansavalis, always render it *Mogul.* Who they really were, if they ever entered the country at all, may be plausibly guessed in some instances from their being said to come from Babul Des and Cashmir, by which the Hindus understand generally Persia, Affghanistan, and part of Tartary. Nothing however can exceed the looseness and confusion of my authorities, in speaking of countries and nations beyond their own immediate frontier. They often bring the Yavana[11] from Delhi, by which appellation they seem to point to some great monarchy or monarchies lying to the northward and westward, of which they have preserved an indistinct notion, rather than to the particular city so named. Dr. Buchanan has remarked a similar degree of confusion on this same point in the historical recollections of the brahmins of the southern countries of India. He observes, (vol. iii. page 113, chapter xv): "Who were these Yavanas? The word properly signifies an European, but as the Hindus speak with great confusion concerning the northern and western nations, it is often confounded with the Mlechchas and Turks, Arabs or Tartars, and all these terms are frequently applied to the Mussulman."

Next in the series of kings, comes Raja Bhoja, who is made to reign 127 years, that is from about B. C. 180 to B. C. 53. He was, according to the Orissan Chronicles, a brave, liberal, just and merciful prince. He conquered the whole of India and took tribute from all the Rajas of it. His Court was adorned by the presence of 750 eminent poets, the chief of whom was Calidasa, author of the 752 Ashloks called the Chanak or Chataka, and Maha Nataka.[12] Raja Bhoja invented boats, the weavers' loom, and wheeled carriages, or at least in his time the use of them first became common. In this reign the Yavanas from Sindhu Des invaded the country in great force but Bhoja discomfited and destroyed them, and afterwards captured many of their possessions and cities.

Sri Bickermajit or Vicramadityt, (whom some call brother,

[11] The 10th chapter of the Institutes of Manu classes *Yavanas* as one of the degraded races of Kshatriyas or *Hindus.*

[12] Kalidas, the famous poet and playwright of India, flourished in the 5th century A.D. His association with Raja Bhoja is based on a popular Orissan legend which ascribes that the poet used to compose one Chanaka (diadectic sloka) every day and receive a piece of jewell from King Bhoja.

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and others son of Bhoj Raja, whilst other accounts state no connection,) succeeded to the throne and reigned 135 years. He was master of all sciences and a great magician. Having subjected the Ashta Vetala or eight demons to his control, he could perform many miraculous feats, such as travelling one hundred jojuns or 400 cos per day, extinguishing fire, and stopping the current of water by the force of his incantations. So great was the fame of his wisdom, that he was on one occasion taken up to the heaven of Indra to settle a fierce dispute which had arisen amongst the Deotas respecting the relative merits of two of the heavenly Choristers, named Rembha and Urvasi. His decision in the important matter submitted to his arbitration, obtained great applause, and the gods dismissed him with a present of the famous magic throne called the Sinhasana. On returning to the "*Martyaloka,*" or region of mortals, much edified by what he had seen above, he became sole and undisputed Maha Raja of the whole face of the earth, and received the title of Raja Adhiraj or Supreme Raja of Rajas. Through fear of his power, the Yavanas all left the country. At last came Salivahana from the Deccan, who attacked and conquered Vicramaditya, put him to death, and assumed the reigns of empire. From that period the æra called the Sacabda prevailed, and was introduced into all the Panjis.[13]

I cannot pass over the above most important event in Indian history, marked by the introduction of a new epoch into all the southern countries, without specifying precisely how my different authorities express themselves regarding it, though unfortunately they throw no new light on the question of who this mysterious personages Salivahana really was? and whence he came? The extract from the Mandala Panji says, "After many years Saca Deo Brahma Raja of Pratishthanapura came with a large "army, attacked the Maha Raja Vicramaditya, and having conquered and destroyed him, fixed the seat of his empire at Delhi." The author of the Vansavali states, "With the assistance (or at the instigation) of the Yavanas, a person named Nri Nikas Salivahana saca Hara[14] fought many battles with the Raja, and deposed him from the throne of Delhi. From that period begins the æra called the Sacabda."

It will be curious, and not altogether unprofitable, to compare these relations with a passage in Major Wilford's distinguished Essay on Vicramaditya and Sálivahana. He says, page 123, "In the seventh section of the *Vrihat-catha,* we read, that

[13] These accounts are mythical and have no historical importance. Saka era started from 78 A.D. the year of accession of Kanishka. As this era was long used by the Saka rulers of Ujjain it was popularly named as Saka era.

[14] An ignorant translator employed by Stirling, rendered *Saca Hara, Sheikh Hara.*

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there was a king of Pataliputrapura, called Vicramaditya, who hearing of the growing power of Nrisinha, king of the consecrated city or *Pratishtana* called to his assistance the *Gajapati,*[15] (lord of the Elephants or king of Thibet,) and the *Aswapati,* (lord of Horses or Horsemen, or the king of Persia.) The confederates took the field but were defeated by Nrisinha Nripa or Salivahana with an incredible slaughter. Vicramaditya fled with the utmost precipitation," &c. In another part it is observed that Vicramaditya "obliged cataca (Cattaca)[16] to submit;" probably brought it into a dependent and tributary relation to his, government, which may account for his beling classed amongst the ancient Sovereigns of the province.

From the commencement of the Cali yuga to the fall of Vicramaditya, Thirteen Rajas are made to reign for the monstrous term of years 3173, viz.

		Years
Yudhisht'hira Deo	...	12
Parikshita, ...	...	757
Janamejaya, ...	...	516
Sambar or Sancara Deo,	...	410
Gautama Deo,	...	373
Mahindra Deo,	...	215
Ashti Deo, ...	...	134
Shewak or Ashok Deo,	...	150
Bajra Nath, ...	...	107
Sarsankh, ...	...	115
Hansh or Hansa	...	122
Bhoja,	...	127
Vicrakramaditya	...	135*

Total 3,73 yrs.

[15] The Raja of Orissa ?

[16] Kataka.

* It may be observed that a list of this description uniformly introduces the genealogies of every race of princes in the Dekhin, and originates with an attempt to fill up a blank in the local histories, with persons borrowed from the Puranas or from tradition. The age of Bhoja is now well established as being assignable to the ninth or tenth century, this being made therefore anterior to Vicramaditya who lived before our æra shews with what imperfect knowledge of dates and persons these lists are compiled; neither was a son of Bhoja named Vikrama which might form a plausible excuse for the confusion, it being ascertained by inscriptions, older probably than these lists, that the son and successor of that prince was named Kalabhoja. In point of history and chronology however neither Vicrama nor Bhoja have any connexion with the dynasties in which the Chroniclers of the Peninsula have enrolled them —*Note by the Secretary* of the Asiatic Researches.

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After the event, the æra of Salivahana which dates its commencement from A.D. 77 in Orissa,[17] is used in all the accounts, and we now come to reigns of a probable and moderate duration, the first dawning of an approach to the authentic period of the local history.

The Raj Charitra goes on to state, "Afterwards Karmajit, (Cramaditya), son of the above, (Vicramaditya ?) ruled over Or Desa or Orissa. He was devoted to the worship of Jagannath and died A. S. 65." Then follow four unimportant reigns remarkable only for mention of invasions by the Yavanas. The Rajas' names are as follows :

			Years
Bato Kesari, reigns	...	...	51
Tirbhobun Deo,	...	...	43
Nirmal Deo,	...	...	45
Bhima Deo,	...	...	37

In the time of Subhan Deo the next in the series of kings, who succeeded to the Raj A. D. 318, relation is given of an extraordinary and incomprehensible occurrence, of which I am quite unable to offer any explanation. It has obviously been strangly distorted by popular tradition, though in all probability possessing a foundation in fact.

The following is an outline of the story alluded so. A Yavana, or foreigner, named Rakta Bahu, (the Red-Armed,) having assembled a large army with the intention of invading Orissa, embarked his troops on vessels with numerous horses and elephants, and having made the cost, anchored at a distance from the khetr of Jagannath, hoping to take Puri by surprise. The dung, straw, &c. of the horses and elephants, happening however to float ashore in quantities, attracted the notice of some of the people of the town. They immediately reported the unusual appearance to the Raja, who guessed that some powerful enemy was coming to attack him. Seized with a panic he took the image of Sri Jeo or Jagannath out of the temple, lodged it in a covered cart with all its jewels and untensils, and fled away to Sonepur Gopalli, the most remote town on his western frontier. The Yavanas landed, and not finding the prince, plundered the town and temple and committeed great excesses everywhere. The Raja's alarms increased on receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the invaders : he now buried the image under the ground, planted a *ber* tree[18] over it, and himself fled farther into the jungles. The Yavanas, unable to understand how he had escaped them, began to institute enquiries on the subject, when some of the low people of the coast informed them of the way

[17] This is the same as the Saka era.

[18] Banyan tree.

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in which their approach had been discovered. Enraged with the ocean for disclosing his secret, Rakta Bahu drew out his armies to chastise its waters. The sea, on observing such formidable preparations, retreated for nearly a cos—the infatuated Yavanas rushed on—when the tide suddenly returning with tremendous noise and fury, swallowed up a great portion of the army and inundated the whole country to a frightful extent. The flood reached inland as far as the Baronai Pahar of Khurda, taking with it immense quantities of sand. It was at this time that the Chilka lake was formed by the irruption of the waters of the ocean.

The Raja died shortly afterwards in the jungles. His son Indra Deo succeeded to the title, but was captured and murdered by the invaders. A Yavana dynasty then ruled over Orissa for the space of 146 years. Thus were completed years 390 of the Sacabda.

Possibly the tradition which I have described above, may have some connection with the fierce religious disputes which raged between the worshippers of Brahma and Buddha about the period in which the invasion of foreigners and the flight of Jagannath is placed, and which as is well known terminated in the expulsion of the latter from the continent of India. A real irruption of the ocean may have occurred in the same age, and this natural calamity, the ever active invention of the Brahmin Chroniclers chose to ascribe to the authors of the bloody wars, revolutions, and other moral evils, which afflicted the country at the time. But it were vain to speculate farther on the origin of an account which is perhaps altogether the work of imagination, and the unravelling of which at all events would require the exercise of much learning and ingenuity than I can bring to the task.[19]

We come now to the accession of the Rajas called the Kesari *Pat* or Vansa, A.D. 473, from which period I should be disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province, but before entering upon the account of their reigns I should observe that there is nothing in the preceding relation to explain what is meant by the "eradicated race of Utcala,"* alluded to in the inscription on the pillar at Buddal, which Major Wilford refers to the expulsion of a martial race of Princes from Orissa by the Carna Emperors of Behar, prior to the accession

[19] This Yavana invasion is believed to be the invasion of the Kushanas by Prof. R. D. Banerjee. According to modern Scholars the Murundas invaded Orissa and ruled over the territory for some times during the early Christian centuries. The hoards of Kushan coins found in all parts of Orissa are attributed to the Murunda rulers. Maharaja Dharmadamadhara, whose gold coin was discovered during the Sisupalgarh excavation is believed to be a Murunda King.

* Vide Asiatic Researches, vol. i.

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of the Gujapatis ;[20] but it would obviously be easy enough to imagine a space for the occurrence of such a revolution, in some of those chasms of upwards of a century's duration, which intervene between many of the early reigns.

No information whatever is afforded as to the origin and pedigree of the Princes called the Kesari Vansa or Kesari Bans. The founder of the new dynasty was Jajati (Yayati) Kesari, a warlike and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came we are not apprized.[21] He soon cleared his dominions of the Yavanas who then retired to their own country. His Court was held at Jajepur where he built a palace (Nour) and castle, called Choudwar, or the mansion with four gates. The most important event of his time was the recovery of the image and the restoration of the worship of Jagannath. Directed by certain omens and supernatural appearances, he proceeded to the Purushottem Khetr to institute enquiries regarding the idol and the temple, when the brahmins of the place informed him that a tradition existed amongst them of Sri Jeo (Jagannath) having been carried off, upwards of a century and a half before, to Sonepur Gopalli, on the invasion of a person called Rakta Bahu, where the form had ever since remained concealed from mortal eyes. This intelligence induced the Raja to make a visit to the jungles of Sone-

[20] Stirling here probably refers to the Garuda pillar inscription at Mangalbadi belonging to the 9th century A.D., according to which King Deva Pala eradicated the race of Utkala (Utkalitot-kala Kulam). The claims of Deva Pala are highly exaggerated in this Prasasti.

[21] The so-called Kesari vamsa is actually known as Somavamsa about which our knowledge at present has considerably been enriched by the discovery of a large number of stone and copper plate inscriptions. This dynasty is a continuation of the Panduvamsa of South Kosala the last ruler of which is Mahasivagupta Balarjuna the immediate predecessor of Janamejaya the first ruler of Somavamsa. The following is the genealogy of this dynasty:

Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta.

- Yajati I Mahasivagupta
  - Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta
  - Dharmaratha Mahasivagupta
  - Naghusha Mahabhavagupta (adopted son)
  - Yajati II Mahasivagupta
  - Udyota Mahabhavagupta.
- Vichitravirya
  - Abhimanyu
    - Naghusha.
    - Chandihara (Yajati)

The activities of Yajatikesari referred to here are attributed to Yajati II Mahasivagupta who flourished in the 10th Century A.D.

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pur. Miraculously guided, he discovered after some search the place where Sri Jeo had been buried, cuts down the ber or banyan tree which overshadowed the sacred spot, and finds the image or images encased in a stone vault, much decayed and disfigured. His next care was to search out the Dytapatis and Shewaks, or officiating priests, descended from those who formerly fled from Puri, and having discovered several of them in the Rattenpur country, he consulted with them how the worship of Jagannath should be revived in all its ancient splendour. The formation of a new image being considered an indispensible preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper *daru* or piece of timber, and having found one with all the requisite qualties indicated by the shastras, they brought it to the Raja, who, filled with pious zeal, clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Puri. A new temple was then erected on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and overwhelmed with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their sinhasan or throne with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Kakara (Cancer) the thirteenth year of the Raja's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, sasans founded, and the whole country around Puri assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Raja received by general acclamation the title of the second Indradyumna.

Towards the close of his reign, Raja Yayati Kesari began the buildings at Bhuvaneswar, and died A. D. 520.

The reigns assigned to his two successors, Suraj Kesari and Ananta Kesari, are probably of too long duration, being altogether ninety-seven years, and are distinguished by nothing remarkable, excepting that the latter prince began the building of the great temple at Bhuvaneswar.

He was succeeded A. D. 617 by Lalat Indra Kesari,[22] a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhuvaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahadeo under the title of the Ling Raj Bhuvaneswara, in the year of Salivahana 580 and A. D. 657. He also founded there a large and populous city containing seven *sais* and forty-two streets which became the capital of the Raj.

An uninteresting series of thirty-two reigns of the Kesari Princes follows, extending through a period of 455 years, of the history of which little is given excepting the characters of the Rajas and some absurd stories connected with the temples of

[22] The traditional Lalata Indra or Lalatendu Kesari is taken to be identical with the historical Udyota Mahabhavagupta.

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Jagannath and Bhuvaneswara. A few particulars worth noticing however may be gleaned from the accounts, such as that the rate at which the ryots were taxed by the sovereign was five kahans of cowris per batti, or about one anna per biga. One of the Rajas named Bariya Kesari, in a time of emergency, raised the demand for revenue as high as one kahan of cowris per biga, or four times the former amount, but his successor Suraj Kesari reduced it to the old rate. Raja Nirupa Kesari, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about A. D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesari was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with that material, (probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen), to protect the new capital from inundation A. D. 1006 ; and Madhava Kesari has the credit of building a fortress of vast dimensions at Sarangher.[23]

Different stories are related of the extinction of the Kesari family. The Raj Charitra says, that the last of the line died childless, when at the suggestion of the deity, another family were brought from the Carnatic by Basudeb Bahanpati and placed on the throne. The Vansavali ascribes the change of dynasty to a dispute between the Raja and this same Basudeb Bahanpati, a brahmin and powerful officer of the court, who having been driven with indignity from the royal presence, went to the Carnatic and instigated a person named Churang or Chor Ganga to invade Orissa. He conquered Cuttack, on Friday, the 13th of Assin, A.S. 1054 or A.D. 1131, and thus acquired the sovereignty of the country.[24] Both accounts agree in giving the above as the date of the accession of Raja Churang Deo. This personage, whatever his real origin, is fabled to have been the offspring of the goddess Ganga Sana or the lesser Ganges (Godaveri) by a form of Mahadeo.[25] With him began the race of princes called the Ganga Vansa, or Gangbans line, who ruled the country for about four centuries, a period fertile in great names and events of importance, and which forms unquestionably the most brilliant and interesting portion of Orissan history, if such terms may be applied to the annals of a hitherto unknown dynasty, governing one only of the many provinces which now constitute the British empire in India.

Churang, or Sarang Deo, held the reins of government for

[23] These rulers are not known to sober history. Baranasi kataka (the extension of which is modern Cuttack) was founded by Anangabhimadeva III (1211-1238 A.D.) and Sarangagarh by Choda-Gangadeva.

[24] Chodagangadeva occupied Orissa sometimes in 1112 A.D.

[25] Chodaganga was the son of the Ganga King Devendra Varma Rajaraja I by his queen Rajasundari, the daughter of Rajendra Chola. Thus, he had in his veins the blood of the stalwart Gangas and the virile Cholas.

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twenty years[26] and conformably with his superatural origin is believed to have been a skilful magician. It is said of him that he established the records of the Jagannath Temple called the *Mandala Panji*, and was a great worshipper of certain forms of Devi to the neglect of all the other gods and goddesses.[27] The memory of his reign and of his singular name, which is certainly not an Uria one, is preserved in a Sai or quarter of the town of Puri, with a tank called the Churang Sai. Tradition also ascribes to him the building of forts and palaces both at Sarangher and Cuttack Choudwar.

His son Gangeswara Deo succeeded A. D. 1151.[28] His dominions reached from the Ganges to the Godaveri. He had five kutuks or Royal metropolises, viz. Jajpur, Choudwar, Amravati, Chatta or Chatna and Biranassi, the modern Cuttack. The account which places Amravati, a town near the Kistna in the heart of the Deccan, amongst the capital cities of this Raja, is one of the commoner genealogies to which I attach no great degree of credit.[29] It is not improbable, however, that the place may have formed part of a principality held by Churang Deo when invited to ascend the throne of Orissa, which thereby became annexed, temporarily to the latter Raj; and claims and political relations arising out of the possession of it, may have been one cause of the frequent expeditions south of the Godaveri and the interference in the affairs to Telingana and the Carnatic, which we shall find to be henceforwards exercised by the Ganga Vansa Rajas.

As a specimen of the morals of the Court of Orissa in this age it should be mentioned, that Raja Gangeswara Deo committed incest with his own daughter, to expiate which offence he dug a superb tank by the advice of the brahmins, called the Kousala Ganj, which is still pointed out between Khurda and Pipley.[30]

After two short and unimportant reigns, Raja Anang Bhim Deo, one of the most illustrious of the Princes of the Ganga Vansa line, ascended the Gajapati Sinhasan or throne of the

[26] Chodagangadeva ascended the Ganga throne at Kalinga Nagara on the 17th February 1078 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Kamarnavadeva in 1150 A.D.

[27] Chodagangadeva was originally a Saiva, the worshipper of Siva Gokarnesvara, and later on he became a devout Vaishnava. The present temple of Jagannath at Puri was constructed by him. The account of the *Madalapanji* about his Tantric faith is based on some fictitious legends.

[28] Gangesvaradeva is another name of Chodagangadeva. *Madalapanji* has created the confusion by making Gangesvara a son of Chodaganga.

[29] Stirling wrongly identifies Amaravati Kataka with Amaravati on the Krishna river. Amaravati Kataka is the same as Chhatia Kataka which he calls Chatta or Chatna, situated about 16 miles to the north-east of modern Cuttack. Sarangagada Kataka may be included in the list of five Katakas.

[30] This legend is nothing but a fiction.

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Gajapatis, A. D. 1174.[31] He resided during the early part of his reign in the Nour or palace called Choudwar at Jajepur, but was induced by some omen to build a magnificent palace on the site of Fort Barabatti, adjoining the town of Cuttack, where he afterwards held his Court chiefly.[32] The construction of the present castle of that name should in all probability be referred to this period, though a later date is generally assigned to it. Raja Anang Bhim Deo may be called the Firoz Shah of the age and country, from the number and variety of public works executed by his orders for the benefit or ornament of his dominions. Having unfortunately incurred the guilt of killing a brahmin, motives of superstition prompted him to construct numerous temples as an expiation for his offence, whilst the suggestions of a noble and princely spirit urged him to a large expenditure on works of more direct public utility, as tanks, wells, and bridges. He is said to have built sixty stone dewals or pagodas, ten bridges, forty wells, one hundred and fifty-two ghats, and to have founded four hundred and fifty sasans or villages, containing colonies of brahmins, besides excavating a crore of tanks. He more especially filled the whole khetr of Jagannath with sacred edifices, and the great temple was erected by his orders under the superintendence of Paramahans Bajpoi, at an expense of about thirty or forty lacs. The date of its completion was A.D. 1196.[33] He at the same time enlarged considerably the establishment, added fifteen brahmin and fifteen sudra Shewaks or officiating priests, and gave fresh splendour to the worship of the deity of the place, by the institution of numerous bhogs and jatras (feasts and festivals.)

The most remarkable feature of Raja Anang Bhim Deo's reign, however, is the measurement undertaken by him of the whole of the land comprized within his dominions, and the arrangements connected with that procedure. We are informed that under the superindence of the principal ministers Damodar Bar Panda and Isan Patnaik, the whole country from the Ganges (Hoogley) to the Godaveri, and from the sea to the frontier of Sonepur, was measured out with the rods called Nal and *Padkeh.*[34] The results were as follows, viz.

[31] After Chodagangadeva his four sons Kamarnava, Raghava, Rajaraja II and Anangabhima II ruled one after the other. Anangabhima succeeded his brother Rajaraja in 1192 A.D.

[32] Stirling here confounds the activities of Anangabhimadeva II with those of his grandson Anangabhimadeva III.

[33] The temple of Jagannath was built by Chodagangadeva. Anangabhimadeva II probably consecrated it.

[34] Nala and Padika are the same standard of linear measurement. 4 Nalas or Padikas make one Kahan. The length of the Nala or Padika differs in different regions of Orissa. In Rahang Parganah of Puri district Nala=3 cubits, whereas in Cuttack district Nala=6 cubits.

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Total contents, (each batti containing 20 bigas)	*Battis*	62,28,000
Deduct, Ground occupied by sites of hills, beds of nullahs, towns, &c. and land irreclaimably waste ...		14,80,000
	Remains,	47,48,000

Of this quantity 24,30,000 battis[35] are stated to have been reserved as the Raja's *Nijkarch,* khaliseh or royal domain, and the remainder 23,18,000 battis were assigned for the support of his chiefs, armies, officers of state, brahmins, elephants, &c.

Connected with and illustrative of the above proceeding, a highly curious speech of the Raja's is given in the annals of the Puri temple, of which I shall here present an abstract translation. Having been warned in a dream by Parameswara (Sri Jagannath,) that it was proper he should offer his devotions at Puri, the Raja proceeded to that place in the 12th year of his reign. After performing the usual worship with great pomp and solemnity, he collected about him the princes of his family, vassal lords, and chief officers of state, and held the following discourse: "Hear, Oh Chiefs and Princes, the arrangements which I have established for the management of my empire, the expenses of state, the pay of my armies and religious establishments, and the support of the royal treasury, and attend to the counsel which I give you. It is known to you that the Rajas of the Kesari line ruled from the Kans Bans river on the north, to the Rassikoilah south, and from the sea on the east to the Dandpat of Bhimnagar[36] west, from which tract of country they derived a revenue of fifteen lacs of *marhs* of gold.[37] By the grace of Sri Jagannath, the Princes of the Ganga Vansa have, after subduing the khetris and bhuniyas (Zemindars), added to the Raj the following extent of country, viz. on the north that lying between the Kans Bans and the Datai Borhi river, South the country from the Rassikoilah down to the Dandpat of Rajmandri, and west to the confines of Boad (Bodh) Sonepur, from which an increase of revenue of twenty lacs has been obtained; my total gross revenues therefore are thity-five

[35] The amount of the estimate in square yards or miles, must depend on the size of the biga, which is not indicated. If we assume it at the present average of the province, the dominions of Anangabhimadeva included more than 40,000 square miles.

[36] Now Denkhanal. (?)

[37] The following table of weights was current in Mediaeval Orissa.
1 Rati or 1 Kaincha=1.75 grains
1 China=4 Ratis=7 grains
1 Marha=40 Ratis=70 grains
1 Karsha=80 Ratis=140 grains
or Tola.

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lacs of *marhs* of gold. Out of this amount I have assigned stated sums for the payment of the Sawants, (Commanders,) Mahawats, and Rawats, (chiefs of horses and elephants), priests, brahmins, and the worship of the deity. For the maintenance of the Paiks, Shewaks, (vassals or officers) and other servants of the state, lands have been duly set apart. Oh Princes and Chiefs, respect my arangements, and beware that you never resume the above grants and allowances, lest you become liable to the penalty denounced in the shastras against those who take back what has been given. Above all in the management of the country under your charge, be just and merciful to the ryots, and collect revenue from them according to the fixed and established rate. As I have by my own good fortune and exertions accumulated a large treasure, viz. forty lacs of marhs of gold taken from the countries of the conquered bhuniyas, and jewels to the value of seven lacs eighty-eight thousand marhs, it is now my intention to devote a portion to the service of Jagannath, by building a new temple one hundred cubits high, and bestowing a quantity of ornaments and utensils. Let me hear your opinions on this point." The ministers and courtiers all replied that so good a work could not too soon be taken in hand, and that after the sagacity and prudence displayed by his majesty, any advice on their parts must be superfluous. An officer named Paramahans Bajpai was therefore directed to take the work in hand forthwith, and twelve lacs and fifty thousand marhs of gold with jewels to the value of 2,50,000 were set apart for the purpose.

The marh of gold is stated to be equivalent to five mashas weight, a valuation which would raise the amount of the revenues of Orissa according to the above statement, far beyond what we can believe them ever to have stood at, even allowing, as offered in explanation, that the gold of that age was very impure, and that the statement includes the gross rents of the whole of the lands of the country, both the royal domains and those now held by the hill Zemindars and Poligars. It appears unaccountable too, why the sum total of the revenues should be stated in gold, when we know that cowris always formed the principal currency of the district.[38] As I am unable to furnish any satisfactory elucidation of these points, I must leave the statement as it stands, content with having presented a faithful translation.

On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Raja's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khurda Rajas, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run thus, "Vira Sri Gajapati, Gaureswara navakotikernatotkalavergeswaradhirai, Bhuta bhairava deva, Sadhusasanotkarana, Rawat Rai, Atula balaprakar-

[38] The Ganga Kings issued small gold coins, which are found at present in considerable number. These are known as Ganga fanams.

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masangrama Sahasra bahu, Kshetriya Kuladhumraketu," &c.[39] "The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants,) Sovereign of Gaura (Bengal,) Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kernata, and the nine forts, a divinity terrible, as Bhairava to the wicked, the protector of the grants enjoyed by the pious; king of kings: like the lord of a thousand arms in the field of battle by his unequalled might, and a comet (or portent) to the martial race."

Many of the titles of persons of distinction, now in general use in the province, were introduced at that period, as Sawant, Mangraj, Bar Jenna, Patsahani, Bar Panda, &c. and we have imperfect hints given of offices, dignities, and institutions founded by Raja Anang Bhim Deo, as for instance the sixteen Sawants or great Lords of Orissa, the seventy-two Nijogs or servants, the thirty-six departments of state, &c. which excite additional regret at the slender and imperfect notices left to us of a reign, so pregnant with important changes and arangements, whose influence may even yet be traced.

It is said that the Raja could muster 3,00,000 Paiks, but his army ordinarily consisted of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with 2,500 elephants, at the head of which he was actively employed in chastising the turbulent and maintaining his authority, throughout the widely extended range of his dominions.

His son Rajeswara Deo reigned thirty-five years and was succeeded A.D. 1236 by Raja Narsinh Deo, surnamed Langora, a prince of great celebrity in the annals of Orissa, as well as in its legends and romances.[40] His great personal strength, and skill in athletic exercises, seem to have invested him with a sort of supernatural character in the eyes of his subjects, and popular tradition has exaggerated some peculiarity in his figure or dress, into the fable of his being provided with a tail, whence is derived the epithet Langora. He is said to have been of a very martial turn, and to have waged a long war to the southward.

It was this Raja who built the famous temple of the sun at Kanarak, called by the Europeans the Black Pagoda "thereby," observes the Author of the Ayin Acberi, "erecting for himself a lasting monument of fame." The work was executed chiefly under the superintendence of the minister Shibai Santra, and is

*39 These high-sounding titles were not used by the Ganga Kings; these were adopted by the later rulers of Orissa. Gajapati Kapilendradeva (1435-1467 A.D.) is the first to bear the title "Vira Sri Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara." The remaining portions came gradually later.

40 Anangabhimadeva II (1192-1204 A.D.) was succeeded by his son Rajaraja III (1204-1211 A.D.), and the latter by his son Anangabhimadeva III (1211-1238 A.D.). Narasimhadeva I, also called Langula Narasimha, succeeded his father Anangabhimadeva III and ruled from 1238 to 1264 A.D.

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stated to have been completed in the year of the Sa[illegible]a 1200, answering to 1277 A.D.

Major Stewart, in his history of Bengal, places an invasion of Orissa by the Musselmans of Bengal during this reign, that is, A. D. 1243. The Chronicles of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa[41] He expresses himself thus, "In the year 641 (A.D. 1243) the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause of offence, Toghan Khan marched to Ketasun on the frontier of Jagepur where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to oppose him." In a battle which ensued, the invaders were defeated, and the Hindus elated with their victory pursued them and ventured even to lay siege to Gour, but assistance arriving they retired.[42] Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality as here described, and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun.[43] Ferishteh is altogether silent on the subject in his history of Bengal, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, &c. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin[44] pursue the rebel Toghral into Jajnagar (A.D. 1239), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon, as lying on the road, that Jajnagar is some place beyond the Ganges.[45]

After Raja Langora Narsinh Deo, five other princes named Narsinh (Nara Sinha) and six with the title of Bhanu, whom some describe as a separate family called Suraj-bansi (Surya Vansa), ruled over Orissa, until A. D. 1451.[46] Their reigns are for the most part undistinguished by events of importance, but

[41] Major Stewart's authority is now known to be Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj-i-Siraj. In the original work Orissa is called Jajnagar and in fact, Orissa is known as Jajnagar to all the Medieval Muslim Chroniclers.

[42] The Kendu Patana copper plate refering to this war declares:— "The white river Ganga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Rarha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed by that monarch (Narasimha I) into the black watered Yamuna. (See JASB, Old series vol. lxv. 1896, part. i, p. 232).

[43] Ketasun (Katasin) is identified with Kotsimal on the western bank of the river Damodar in the Hooghly district.

[44] Sultan Balban.

[45] This Jajnagar is Jaynagar identified with Tippera.

[46] The following are the Ganga kings of Orissa. who ruled after Narasimhadeva I (1238-1264)—Bhanudeva I (1264-1278), Narasimhadeva II (1278-1306), Bhanudeva II (1306-1328), Narasimhadeva III (1328-1352), Bhanudeva III (1352-1378), Narasimhadeva IV (1378-1414 ?) Bhanudeva IV (1414 ?-1435).

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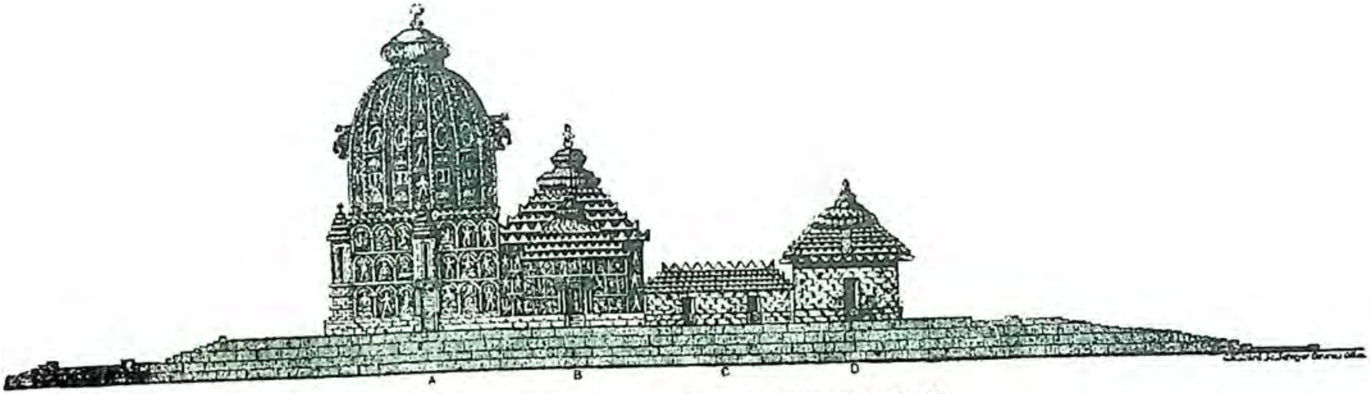

THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH AT PURI

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they have left some public works which coupled with other monuments of the Ganga Vansa Rajas, give a favorable impression of the public spirit and munificence of that race. Amongst these the fine bridge at the entrance of Puri called the Athara Naleh, said to have been built A. D. 1300, by Raja Kabir Narsinh Deo,[47] is the most worthy of notice. A dreadful scarcity is recorded to have happened early in the 14th century, when paddy rose to the (then) enormous price of 120 kahans of cowris per bharan—about three times its present *average* rate calculated in the same currency, but nearly sixty times the ordinary selling price of that age, if an account in my possession is to be credited, which states, that under the Bhanus, rice in the husk sold for two kahans per bharan, clean rice at ten cowris per ser and cotton one pan ten gandas per ser.

The last of the Rajas surnamed Bhanu, being childless, he adopted as his son and successor a youth, named Kapila or Kapil Santra, of the Suraj-bansi tribe of Rajputs.[48] The boy became afterwards a prince of high renown under the title of Kapil Indra Deo, and the Indian Chroniclers have not failed therefore to embellish the history of his early life, with flattering fictions and stories of supernatural occurrences, prophetic of his future rise and greatness. It is said, that when a child, he gained his livelihood by tending the cows of a brahmin. One day his master found him fast asleep on the ground at mid-day, and a huge snake standing erect near him, with its hood spread out and held in such a manner, as to shelter him from the fierce rays of the meridian sun. This indication satisfied the brahmin that he was destined to become something great. Shortly after, the Raja, whilst passing one day to the temple, took notice of him, enquired his name, and being struck with his answers and appearance, finding moreover that he was by caste and descent a rawat or leader of the Suraj-bansi Rajputs, he attached him to the royal household, where he speedily became a favorite. He was soon directed by Mahadeo in a dream to adopt him as his son and successor. The lad was now called Kapil Bhowarbar,[49] and rose rapidly through several offices to the post of Pater or Prime Minister. The Moguls having come into the country from the north with a large army to demand tribute, the Raja feeling himself unable to cope with them in the field, sent his favorite to negotiate a treaty of peace. He was detained as a hostage for the payment of the sum agreed upon, but was well treated by the King or Nawab, and on the death of his patron soon after,

[47] Very probably he is Narasimhadeva II.

[48] Kapilesvara Rautaray was an ambitious minister of Bhanudeva IV, and when the latter died childless in 1435 he seized the throne and started the rule of the Solar dynasty in Orissa. He is commonly known as Kapilendradeva.

[49] Kapila Bhramarabar.

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was allowed to return to Orissa, when he assumed government, A. D. 1451, under the title of Kapil Indra Deo.[50] His reign is described to have been one continued series of wars, sieges, and expeditions. He visited in person every quarter of his widely extended dominions, but was occupied chiefly to the southward, and resided a good deal at Kimedy and Rajamandry. He also visited the city of Vijianagara (Bidyanagar) and founded there several Sasans, more especially one called Damoderpur Sasan. The Raja afterwards pursued his conquests as far down as Rama's bridge, which the natives call Set Band Rameswara. The subjugation of a fort called Kondajoi or Kondjuri, perhaps Condapilly, and his proceedings there, are much spoken of. He is said to have deposed one Raja, and set up another called Narsinha Rai. Amongst his conquests, places called Maligunda and Malka (Malanca) are likewise mentioned. The particulars of the Raja's wars and expeditions in that distant quarter are, however, so loosely and indistinctly narrated, that it is impossible to make any thing satisfactory out of the account.[51] He died near Condapilly, on the banks of the Kistna, after a busy and distinguished reign of twenty-seven years.[52] The period of his administration was further remarkable for the occurrence of two dreadful famines which swept off vast numbers of the human race.[53] The price of paddy again rose during them to 125 kahans per bharan.

The chasms and omissions above noticed in the native annals of Orissa, are curiously enough supplied in part by Ferishteh's history of the Bahmini Sovereigns of Kalberga. Up to this period the Musselman kings of the Deccan, engaged in perpetual contests with the ousted Rais of Telingana and the Carnatic, had possessed neither leisure nor inclination to interfere with the affairs of Orissa. The two powers seem first to have come in contact during Kapil Indra Deo's reign; and if the Musselman accounts are correct, disputes between them originated in the aggressions of the Raja of Orissa.

Ferishteh relates, that in the time of Humayun Shah Bahmini, about A. D. 1457,[54] the Telingahs prevailed on the Rajas of

[50] This story is wrongly told here. According to Ferishta Sultan Husang Ghori of Malwa came over Orissa in the guise of a merchant and captured the King (Bhanudeva) by surprise, who purchased his liberty presenting the Sultan a number of elephants. (Briggs, Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 179).

[51] Two inscriptions of Munnur (in South Arcot district) dated in the Saka year 1386=1464 A.D. indicate that Kapilendradeva was in possession of the entire eastern sea board of India from the Ganges to the Kavery.

[52] He died in December 1466.

[53] This has no historical basis. Famine was unknown in Orissa during the reign of Kapilendradeva.

[54] Humayun Shah Bahmani succeeded his father Ahmad Shah on May 7, 1458 to the throne of Bidar.

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Orissa and Uria to afford them assistance against the Mohammedans, who sent a large army to their aid, with many war elephants. The confederates completely defeated the armies of Islam, and pursued them from the field of battle for many miles. Under Nizam Shah, son of the above, the Rai of Orissa in conjunction with the powerful Zemindars or Khetris (Poligars) of Telingana, again invaded the territories of the Deckany sovereigns by way of Rajamandry and plundered as far as *Kolas*.[55] The Rai of Orissa is said to have advanced in great state and splendour, "*ba shouket tamami*," with the declared intention of conquering the whole of Telingana from the Mussulmans, and compelling them to pay tribute. When he had arrived however within ten miles of the Mohammedan capital Ahmedabad (Beder), the ministers taking courage sent him a message of defiance saying that "their king had long intended to subjugate Orissa and *Jehannagar* and render it tributary, but the idea of the distance of that country had hitherto deterred him from the undertaking: however as the Raja had now come so far to throw himself into the jaws of destruction, much trouble would be saved to the victorious armies of Islam." This bravado was followed up by a spirited sally of Patan horse, which cooled a little the ardour of the Hindus, and induced them to fall back. They were finally glad to purchase a secure retreat to their own frontier, by paying down a sum of five lacs of tankas.[56]

Ferishteh goes on to state, that in the year 1471 A.D. the Rai of Uria caled Himber, complained to King Mohammed Shah that he had been driven from his possessions by an usurper who was supported from Orissa, and offered on condition of obtaining effectual assistance for the recovery of his rights, to become tributary to the Musselman government, and to cede certain forts. It is not easy to satisfy one's self what is meant by this word *Uria*, which Ferishteh uses sometimes as the name of a person, and sometimes as that of a district, but from the whole context there seems reason to think that the author intends to designate by the term, the country between Rajamandry and Condapilly, &c. held probably at that time as a fief or dependency of the Orissan monarchy.

The Bahmini king, who had always wished to obtain a footing on the Godaveri, agreed to Himber's proposal, marched an army into Uria, defeated the usurper Mangal Rai, and restored

[55] Stirling here notes as follows:—

The boldness and enterprize of the Orissan monarchs in those days, may surprize us when we consider the situation of Kolas in the heart of central India, beyond Kalberga and Beder."

[56] Ferishta's statements are to be taken with some reservation. It may, however, be said that Kapilendra's campaign against Bidar was not, in the long run, decisive.

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the principality to his ally, taking for his own share the forts of Rajamandry and Condapilly.[57]

After sometime Rai Uria seems to have repented of his connection with Mohammedans, and to have become desirous of returning to his old allegiance. One of those destructive famines noticed in my accounts of Raja Kapil Indra Deo's reign, having spread general ruin and consternation throughout the Deccan, the conjuncture appeared to him favorable for making an effort to throw off the Musselman yoke, and he accordingly dispatched a message to the Rai of Orissa (which is fully detailed by Ferishteh) saying that "if he wished to recover his *hereditary dominions* in Telingana, now was the time." The Raja, on receiving this invitation, collected together an army of 10,000 foot and 8,000 horse, and summoning all his tributary chiefs to attend him, proceeded into Telingana without delay. Mohammed Shah hastened to oppose the combined forces of Orissa and Uria, and soon compelled the Rais to retreat across the lake of Rajamandry. He then, says Ferishteh, resolved to punish the idolater for his insolence and aggression, and taking with him a chosen body of 20,000 men, made a dash into Orissa, and penetrated as far as the capital, plundering and laying waste the country on all sides. The Raja unable to withstand the fury of the storm which he had so rashly raised, fled before the invaders, and was soon obliged to sue humbly for peace, which was granted only on condition of his paying down a large sum of gold and silver, and surrendering twenty-five celebrated elephants which he valued next his life. The Musselman prince then retired, with the same degree of rapidity as he had advanced, to Condapilly, where he humbled his other opponent Rai Uria.

This inroad, which supposing the chronology of the two histories to be correct, must have happened (if at all) towards the close of Raja Kapil Indra Deo's reign, is not noticed in the meagre imperfect sketch of the events of that period, given in the Orissan annals.[58] They make their Raja return however from the Deccan to Pursottem Chatter, about the date in question, when he consults the god as to which of his seven sons, all distinguished for their princely qualities and accomplishments, he should appoint his successor in the Raj. He was instructed to elect Pursottem Rai, though the youngest and born of a concubine. The choice was justified by his superior merit, and as the will of Sri Jeo at all events could not be disputed, the Raja named

[57] This account of Ferishta cannot properly be explained. He probably refers to the war of succession among the sons of Kapilendradeva.

[58] This inroad of the Bahmani Sultan took place during the early years of the rule of Purushottamadeva, son of Kapilendradeva. Purushottama had a heavy defeat at the hand of Sultan Muhammad III Bahmani (1463-1482 A.D.).

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Pursotten Rai his successor, and took the favored youth with him on his last expedition to the banks of the Kistna, where he died as before stated A.D. 1478.[59]

The Raja elect, having been acknowledged by the army on the Kistna as their sovereign, under the title of Pursottem Deo, returned with what speed he could to Cuttack, where his presence was necessary to counteract the intrigues and opposition of his six brothers, all indignant at their supercession. Their enmity and machinations long disturbed the peace of his Court, but he at last succeeded in expelling them, and they then retired to various quarters, where they built forts and established princi-palities for themselves.

The reign of Raja Pursottem Deo is rendered memorable by the most striking exploit recorded in the annals of Orissa, viz. the expedition to and conquest of Conjeveram. The circums-tances of that transaction deserve to be rescued from oblivion, as well for the curious picture which they afford of the manners and opinions of the age and nation, as from their connection with an historical incident of some importance. The fullest account of the expedition is to be found in the poem before noticed, called the Kanjikaveri Pothi, though as the author has had recourse to the embellishment of a regular epic machinery, the narrative is encumbered by fictitious characters and incidents. It is also much dwelt upon in all the Native histories, which agree in the main points of the relation, with some discrepancies as to the details.

The story runs nearly as follows: "In the country of Dakhin Kanouj Kernat Sasan, there lived a powerful Raja who had a vast fortress and palace built of a fine black stone, called Kanjinagar or Kanjikaveri (Conjeveram) and a daughter so beauteous and accomplished, that she was surnamed Pudmavati or Padmini.[60] The fame of her charms having reached the ears of Maharaja Pursottem Deo, he became anxious to espouse her, and sent a messenger accordingly to the Chief of Conjeveram to solicit the hand of his fair daughter. That Raja was well pleased with the prospect of having for his son-in-law so great and powerful a prince as the Gajapati of Orissa, but considered it advisable to make some enquiries regarding the customs and manners of that Court, before consenting to the alliance. He soon found that the Maharajas were in the habit of performing the duties of a sweeper (Chandal) before the image of Jagannath, on its being brought forth from the temple annually at the Rath

[59] Kapilendradeva died in December 1466 and was succeeded by his son Purushottamadeva, who ascended the throne in March 1467.

[60] Stirling remarks:—
"This was the name of a Princess, whose amours with Khosru Perviz, are celebrated in several Indian and Persian Romances, and is in Sanscrit indeed the general name of a particular class of beauties."

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Jatra. Now the Kanjinagar Raja was a devoted and exclusive worshipper of Sri Ganesh (Ganesa), and had very little respect for Sri Jeo, the divinity of Orissa ; and conceiving the above humiliation to be quite unworthy of, and indeed utterly disgraceful to a Khetri of such high rank, he declined the alliance in consequence. The Gajapati monarch became very wroth at the refusal, and swore, that to revenge the slight cast on him, he would obtain the damsel by force and marry her to a real sweeper. He accordingly marched with a large army to attack Conjeveram, but was defeated and obliged to retire. Overwhelmed with shame and confusion, he now threw himself at the feet of Sri Jeo, and earnestly supplicated his interference to avenge the insult offered to the deity himself in the person of his faithful worshipper. The god promised assistance, says the author of the poem, directed him to assemble another army, and assured him that he would this time take the command of the expedition against Conjeveram in person. When the Raja had arrived, during the progress of his march, at the site of the village now called Manikpatam, he began to grow anxious for some visible indication of the presence of the deity. In the midst of his cogitations on the subject, a milkmaid or gwalin named Manika, came up and displayed a ring which she said had been entrusted to her, to present to the monarch of Orissa, by two handsome Cavaliers, mounted the one on a black, and the other on a white horse, who had just passed on to the southward. She also related some particulars of a conversation[61] with them which satisfied the Raja that the promise of assistance would be fulfilled, and that these horsemen were no other than the brothers Sri Jeo (Krishna) and Baldeo (Baladeva.) Full of joy and gratitude, he directed the village to be in future called, after his fair informant, Manikpatana, and marched onwards to the Deccan secure of success. On the other hand the chief of Conjeveram, alarmed at the second advance of the Gajapati in great force, appealed for aid to his protecting deity Ganesh, who candidly told him that he had little chance against Jagannath, but would do his best. The siege was now opened and many obstinate and bloody battles were fought under the walls of the fort. The gods Sri Jeo and Ganesh, espousing warmly the cause of their respective votaries, perform many miracles and mix personally in the engagements, much in the style of the Homeric deities before the walls of Troy ; but the latter is always worsted. In reality, after a long struggle, Conjeveram fell before the armies of Orissa. The Raja escaped, but his beautiful daughter was captured and conducted in triumph to Puri. A famous image of Gopal, called the Satbadi (Satya Vadin) Thakur, that is, the

[61] This interview is described at great length in the poem, and the amorous impassioned turn which the dialogue takes between Sri Jeo and the milkmaid, is esteemed one of its chief beauties.

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"truth-speaking god," was brought off at the same time and set up in a temple ten miles north of Pursottem, where it may still be seen, a monument of the Conjeveram expedition.[62]

I suspect that the tradition mentioned by Orme, vol. ii. book viii. confounds the conquest of Conjeveram above related, with some former expedition into the Carnatic of the more ancient Rajas of Orissa. "The tradition of these countries says, that many centuries before Mahommedanism, a king of Jagannath, in Orissa, marched to the south with a great army, which subdued not only these provinces, but, crossing the Kistna, conquered in the Carnatic, as far as Conjeveram: these conquests he distributed in many portions to his relations, officers, and menial servants, from whom several of the present northern polygars pretend to be lineally descended, and to govern at this very time the very districts which were then given to their ancestor. All who claim this genealogy, esteem themselves the highest blood of native Indians next to the brahmins, equal to the Rajputs, and support this pre-eminence by the haughtiest observances, insomuch that the breath of a different religion, and even of the meaner Indians, requires ablution," &c. &c.

Conformably with his oath, Raja Pursottem Deo made over the fair Padmavati or Padmini to his chief minister, desiring him to wed her to a sweeper. Both the minister, however, and all the people of Puri commiserated her misfortunes, and at the next Rath Jatra, when the Maharaja began to perform his office of *Chandal* (sweeper), the individual entrusted with charge of the lady brought her forth and presented her to him, saying, "You ordered me to give the Princess to a sweeper; *you* are the sweeper upon whom I bestow her." Moved by the intercession of his subjects, the Raja at last consented to marry Padmavati,[63] and carried her to the palace at Cuttack. The end of this lady's history is as romantic as the preceding portion of it. She is said to have conceived and brought forth a son by Mahadeo, shortly after which she disappeared. All the circumstances were explained to the husband in a dream, who acknowledged gratefully the honour conferred on him, and declared the child thus mysteriously born his successor in the Raj.

Pursottem Deo died after a reign of twenty-five years, and was succeeded by Pertab Janamuni, the son of Padmavati,[63] under the title of Pertab Rudra Deo, A.D. 1503.[64] The wisdom and learning of this prince soon became the theme and admiration of the whole country. He had studied deeply all the shasters, was very fond of disputing and conversing on points of theology,

[62] This image was in Cuttack at the time of the visit to this place by Srichaitanya.

[63] The queen of Purushottamadeva was named Rupambika. Padmavati was the queen of Prataprudradeva the son of Purushottamadeva.

[64] Prataprudradeva succeeded his father in 1497 A.D.

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and introduced many curious constructions of his own, and doctrines which were altogether new. He was withal devout, and built many temples. His skill in the arts of war and civil government, were eminent; in short he was equally celebrated as an able, learned, warlike and religious prince. A very curious anecdote is related of his conduct, which seems to shew that the followers of Buddha continued to form a sect of importance in this part of India until the beginning of the sixteenth century.* It is said that a serious robbery happened in the Raja's palace, and that he being anxious to discover the perpetrators, assembled together all the wise men, both of the Bauddhist and Brahminical persuasion, to obtain their assistance in prosecuting an investigation. The brahmins could tell nothing, but the followers of Buddha, through their knowledge of the occult art, were enabled to point out both the offender and the place where the stolen property was concealed. The Raja was induced by this incident to form so high an opinion of the learning and skill of the Bauddhists, that he became for some time a warm supporter of that sect. His Rani on the other hand espoused zealously the cause of the brahmins. It was at last determined to make another formal trial of their relative skill as men of science, or rather magicians. Accordingly a snake was secretly put into an earthen jar, the mouth of which being covered up, the vessel was produced in a great assembly at the palace. Both parties were then asked what the jar contained. The brahmins answered, "it contains only earth," and sure enough when opened it was found to contain nothing but earth. This specimen of skill entirely changed the Raja's opinions, and he now became as violent against the Bauddhists as he had been before prejudiced in their favour—so much so that he not only withdrew his protection and countenance, but violently expelled the whole sect from his dominions, and destroyed all their books except the *pothis* called the Amer Singh and Bir Singh (Amara Sinha and Vira Sinha). It is added that about this time Chytunya or Chytan Mahaprabhu[65] came from Naddia in Bengal to visit the temple of Jagannath, and that he performed miracles before the Raja. The key to the whole story is probably to be found in the visit of this celebrated Vyshnavite reformer or sectary, who doubtless had some share in creating the hostile disposition of Raja Pertab Rudra Deo, towards the followers of the heretical Buddha.[66]

* As this is contrary to received opinions, to the inferences warranted by the works of Madhavacharya in the 13th century and the statement of Abulfazl in the 16th, it seems likely that the original authorities have confounded, as is very commonly the case, the Bauddhas and Jains, and that the latter are here intended.—*Note by the Secretary of Asiatic Researches.*

65 Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu.

66 Persecution of the Buddhists by Prataprudradeva is unwarranted by History. Sri Chaitanya is not known from any source to have persuaded Prataprudradeva to persecute the Buddhists.

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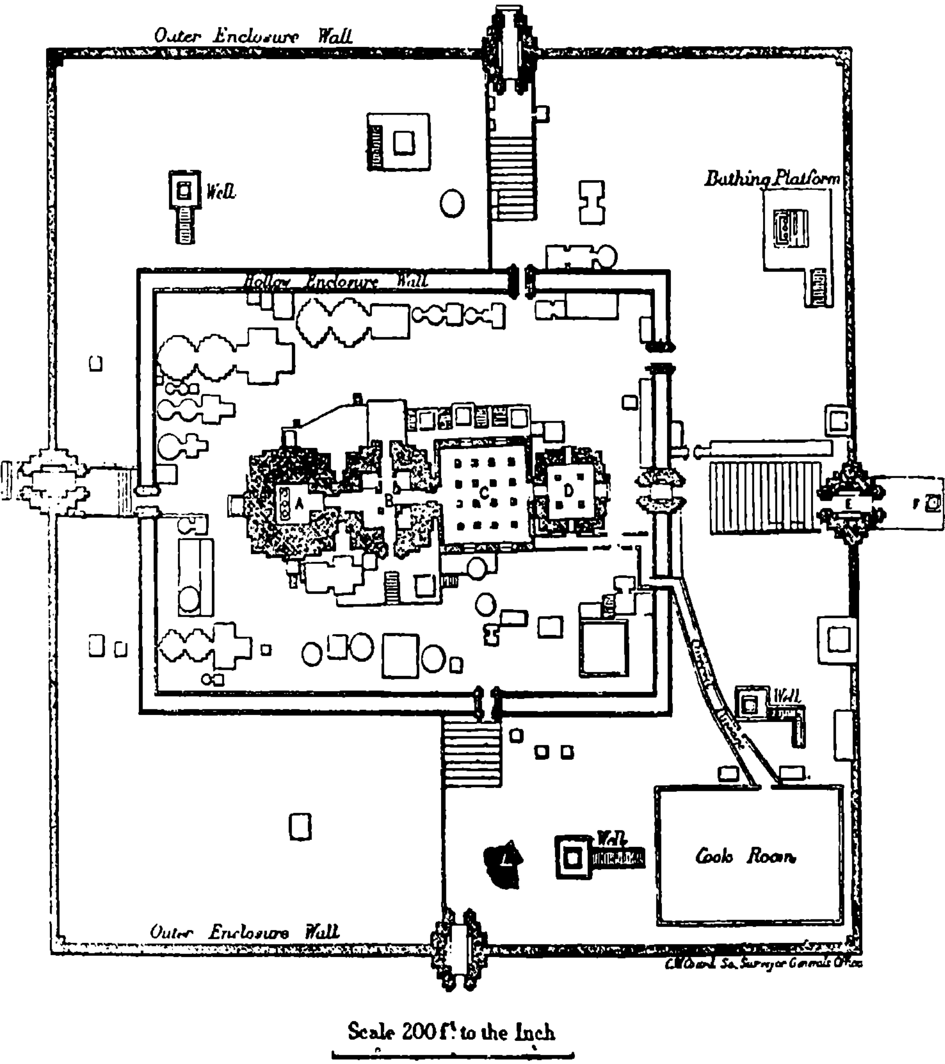

PLAN OF TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH AT PURI

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Another of those famines which have so often afflicted India, occurred early in this century in Orissa. The Raja who could find leisure for schemes of conquest and ambition amidst his religious enquiries and controversies, marched with his army down to Setu Band Rameswara, reduced several forts, and took the famous city of Vijayanagara.[67] The Mohammedans of the Deccan also gave abundant occupation to his arms on the southern frontier of the Raj, and whilst he was occupied in repelling or provoking their attacks, the Afghans from Bengal made an inroad into the province in great force. They advanced as far as Cuttack, and pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of the city, when the Governor Anant Singhar finding himself unable to oppose any effectual resistance, took refuge in the strong fortress of Sarangerh, south of the Katjuri. After satiating themselves with the plunder of the capital, they proceeded towards Puri where they committed dreadful devastations; but the grand object of their search, the Idol or Deo of Orissa, had been removed out of their reach, the priests having taken the precaution, so soon as they heard of the approach of the invaders, to carry off Sri Jeo and the other images in boats across the Chilka in order to conceal them amongst the hills. Raja Pertab Rudra Deo on receiving intelligence of these disastrous occurrences, hastened back from the Deccan, and performing a journey of months in a few days, he came up with the invading army before they had left the khetr, gave them battle, and destroyed a great number of the Mlecchas (Foreigners and Barbarians). He was however himself so much crippled by the contest, that he was happy to conclude a peace nearly on the enemy's terms, when they retired and left the province to itself.

This Prince died A. D. 1524, having reigned twenty-one years.[68] With the three above remarkable reigns, terminate all the glories of the Ganga Vansa dynasty,[69] and the royal house of Orissa. The race itself became extinct soon after the demise of Raja Pertab Rudra Deo, and the independence of the country was not destined long to survive. Pressed at both extremities by the vigour and enterprize of the Mohammedan governments of Bengal and Telingana, now in the full maturity of their strength, the downfall of the Orissan monarchy was further hastened by intestine commotions, disunion amongst the chiefs, and a series of bloody and destructive contests for the supreme dignity.

[67] Prataprudra did not invade Vijayanagar. Krishnadev Ray, the famous emperor of Vijayanagar invaded the Orissan empire and crushingly defeated Prataprudradeva, as a result of which the Gajapati ceded all his territories to the south of the Godavari to Krishnadeva Ray.

[68] Prataprudradeva ruled from 1497 to 1540 A.D.

[69] These three rulers—Kapilendradeva, Purushottamadeva and Prataprudradeva belong to the Surya dynasty.

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Pertab Rudra Deo left thirty-two sons. The eldest of these reigned about five years, when he was murdered by the powerful minister Govind Bidyadhar. Another son succeeded, who was murdered at the expiration of a year. The minister then barbarously put to death the whole of the remaining thirty princes of the royal house, by the hands of his own son Madhu Srichander, and having destroyed several other persons of eminence, he thus literally waded up to his neck in blood to the throne, which he ascended A.D. 1533 under the title of Raja Govind Deo.[70] Two remarkable personages became first generally known during his administration, Mukund Harichandan, the Telinga, who received the government of the town of Cuttack, and Danaye or Danardan Bidyadhar, who was appointed Prime Minister. The former afterwards became Raja of the country, and was the last of its independent sovereigns; the latter, though not himself a king, was the parent of kings—in other words, he was the ancestor of the third and titular branch of the Gajapatis of Orissa, known in after ages as the Rajas of Khurda.

The presence of the Raja being required in the Deccan, he resided for eight months at Malgunda or Maligonda with his minister. We may infer from Ferishteh, that the possession of Rajamundry and other places near the Godaveri was about this period much disputed between the Uria princes and the Musselman kings of the Deccan, both the Bahminis, and that branch of their successors who ruled at Golconda under the title of Kutteb Shahis. Ferishteh's account of the latter monarchs contains a passage relating to Orissa which I may here quote. He says, "Hindu writers observe that there are three countries adjoining each other, the climates of which resemble each other greatly, and possess much the same peculiarities, viz. *Teling*, *Beng*, and *Oorek* (Orixa). Teling, is that possessed by the Kutteb Shahi sovereigns. Beng, is Bengala. Oorek lies between them. No Musselman prince has ever been able to conquer the latter, but king Mohammed Kuli Kooteb attacked it and subdued many parts. The *Hakim* of that quarter is called Bahabalinder (a common title, it may be observed, of the feudal chiefs of Orissa, but not of the Rajas);* he fled off to the remotest parts of his country."

The usurper's two nephews, Raghu Bhanj Chotra and Balanki Srichandan, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded

[70] The two sons of Prataprudradeva ruled one after the other only for about a year, and both of them fell victims to the treachery of Govinda Vidyadhar, who usurped the throne in 1541-42 A.D.

* May not this be the original of the Mohammedan Balharas, a term that has puzzled all orientalists. It need not be restricted to this province being a regular Sanscrit compound implying, The Indra (chief) of the mighty, or literally, strong-armed.—*Note by the Secretary of Asiatic Researches.*

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by his absence, formed a conspiracy against his authority; they murdered the head Percha of the temple at Puri, drove Mukund Harichandan from Cuttack, and gained possession of the capital. These occurrences obliged the Raja to return with a large part of his army, and a pitched battle took place between the parties, when the insurgents were defeated and pursued as far as the Ganges. Raja Govind Deo died on the banks of that river at the Das Aswamedh ghat, in the seventh year of his rule.[71]

Pertab Chakra Deo was then placed on the throne by the minister Danaye Bidiadhur,[72] who, after seeing his authority properly established, returned to the Deccan to look after matters in that quarter. Though a weak, oppressive, and tyrannical prince, who carried his excesses so far even as to distress brahmins, he was maintained in the government for about eight years by the influence and support of his minister, and then died suddenly in the temple itself.

There being no heir left of the Rajas of Orissa, a chief named Narsingh Jenna, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, stepped into the vacant seat of government. Jealous of the influence of Danaye Bidiadhur, he procured his attendance from the Deccan, and then with the assistance of his rival Mukund Harichandan, threw him into chains and imprisonment at Cuttack. In the mean time Raghu Bhanj Chotra, having recovered from his former defeat, entered Orissa again at the head of a large force to assert his claims to the Raj. He was opposed by Mukund Harichandan, who took him prisoner after many bloody battles.

Narsingh Jenna was deposed at the end of the year, it does not appear by whom, and the reins of government then passed into the hands of the most undoubtedly powerful officer in the province, Mukund Harichandan, the Telinga, who ascended the throne of the Gajapatis, A.D. 1550, under the well known title of Telinga Mukund Deo.[73]

All the native accounts concur in describing their last independent Raja as a man of courage and abilities. He has been honoured with a notice in the work of the Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who extends our knowledge of his character by informing us that "the last king of the Orissans was called Mukund, who was very polite to strangers and had four hundred women."[74] The early part of his reign was employed chiefly in constructing monuments of public utility or superstition, as temples, tanks, and brahminical sasans. Amongst other works

[71] He died in 1549 A.D.

[72] Danai Vidyadhar.

[73] Mukundadeva obtained the throne in 1559 A.D.

[74] Joseph Tieffenthaler, the Jesuit missionary lived in India from 1743 to 1786. He wrote "Geography of Hindusthan" in Latin. The English version of the relevant portions of the book is published in Orissa Historical Research Journal vol. ii. no. 2. Appendix III.

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of the kind, he founded a ghat and temple at the sacred spot called Tribeni, on the Hooghly, north of the town of that name which formed the extreme verge of his dominions, and whilst so occupied, frequent communications are said to have passed between him and the king of Delhi, or rather the officers of the emperor. Soliman Gurzani,[75] the Afghan king or governor of Bengal, having assembled an army to invade Orissa, the Raja built a strong fortress in some commanding situation, and for this time opposed his endeavours successfully. At last however came Kala Pahar General of the Bengal forces, the destined conqueror of Orissa, with his wonder-working kettle drum, at the sound of which the ears and feet of the idols would drop off for many *coss* all around. The Hindus say of this dreaded enemy of their images and superstition, that he was originally a brahmin, but lost caste through a contrivance of the princess of Gaura, who was smitten with the manly beauty of his person. He then married her, turned Musselman, and became a relentless persecutor of the adherents of the faith from which he had apostatized. Many dire omens preceded and announced his arrival in the province; amongst others a large stone fell from the summit of the great tower of the temple at Puri, and when he entered the precincts of the khetr, a general darkness overspread the four corners of the land. In short, Kalapahar invaded Orissa on the part of the king or governor of Bengal with an army of Afghan Cavalry, defeated and killed the Raja or drove him from the country, and finally overthrew the independent sovereignty of Orissa, A.D. 1558.[76] Two titular princes were set up after the expulsion of Mukund Deo, who both fell into the hands of the conquerors and were put to death by them. An anarchy of twenty-one years duration then ensued, during which the Afghan Mohammedans possessed the whole of the open country, and there was no Raja.

The several accounts which have been handed down of Kalapahar's invasion of Orissa, differ widely in the details, though the main facts are well known and established. The story told by the Musselman writers is that, Mukund Deo, apprehending the designs of the king or governor of Bengal, encamped with a large part of his army on the Ganges, but Kalapahar turning his position got a-head of him into Orissa, and began to plunder the country and attack the temples of the Hindus with relentless fury, before any force could be brought to check him. A battle at length took place at Jajipur in which the Raja lost his life. The Afghan chief then went on to Sambhelpur where he was killed by some of the Bhuyans. Others say that on his passing the great temple of the Ling Raj at

[75] Sulaiman Khan Kararani.

[76] Mukundadeva, the last independent Gajapati was killed in 1568 A.D.

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Bhuvaneswara, a swarm of bees issued from the throne of the idol and stung him to death. The Puri Vynsavali makes the Raja to have been busy in Khurda when the Afghan army suddenly advanced upon Cuttack, defeated the Governor Gopi Sawant Sinhar, and plundered the palace and treasury, alarmed at which news, Mukund Deo fled out of the province not daring to oppose so powerful a force, and died shortly after in the king of Delhi's dominions. The relation in Gladwin's Bengal of the Raja building fort Barabati, when he heard of Kalapahar's approach, and going to sleep for many months according to custom, until roused by the alarming sound of the magic kettle drum, is a third version of the story which carries with it its own refutation. All the native writers however agree in speaking with horror of the cruel excesses committed by their Afghan conqueror, and the wide destruction of images and temples occasioned by the unrelenting persecution of the Hindu faith.

The adventures of the great idol form a curious episode in the history of this important period. According to the Mandala Panji, when the priests at Puri saw the turn which matters were taking, they again for the third time in their annals, hurried away the helpless god in a covered cart, and buried him in a pit at Parikud, on the Chilka Lake. Kalapahar was not however to be defrauded of so rich a prize, and having traced out the place of concealment, he dug up Sri Jeo and carried him off on an elephant, as far as the Ganges, after breaking in pieces every image in the Khetr. He then collected a large pile of wood, and setting fire to it, threw the idol on the burning heap, but immediately all his limbs dropped off and he perished miserably. A bystander observed, "this is a punishment for the indignity offered to the Deo of Orissa," and snatching the image from the flames, threw it into the river. The whole proceeding had been watched by Besar Mainti, a faithful votary of Jagannath, who followed the half burnt image as it floated down the stream, and at last when unperceived, managed to extract from it the sacred part (Brahm or spirit in the original), and brought it back secretly to Orissa, where it was carefully deposited in charge of the Khandait of Kujang.[77]

It appears from Ferishteh, that the Afghans under Daood Khan, the son of Soloman Karsani (or Gurzani), were allowed to retain possession of Orissa for some time after the overthrow of the native government; but having drawn down upon themselves the vengeance of the Emperor Akber by their turbulence and violent proceedings, they were several times attacked, first by Monaim Khan and afterwards by Khan Jehan, who wrested their new acquisition from them about 1578 A.D.[78] and

[77] The legends connected with Kalapahar have little historical truth.

[78] Daud Khan was captured and killed in the battle of Rajmahal on the 12th July 1576.

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annexed it to the rent roll of the empire. Ferishteh in this place calls the province Orissa, and Katak-Benares.

The Uria historians go on to relate, that, at the expiration of the twenty-one years of anarchy and interregnum, the ministers and principal men of the country beginning to recover from their depression and alarm, assembled together to consult about the affairs of the nation, and chose as their chief a person named Ranai Raotra, son of the before mentioned minister Danaye Bidyadhar, whom they raised to the rank and dignity of Maharaja of Orissa, A.D. 1580, under the title of Ramchander Deo. With him begins the third and titular race of Sovereigns called the Bhoi Vansa, or Zemindari race. The election was confirmed by Sewai Jye Sinh, the general of the Emperor Akber, who came into the province about the time, with his army, to look after the Imperial interests. The sight of Bhuvaneswara, its numerous temples, the crowds of brahmins, and the sacred character of every thing in Utcala Desa, is said to have impressed him with feelings of so much reverence and admiration for the country, that he determined to interfere very little in its affairs, and retired shortly afterwards, leaving a large share of authority in the hands of its Native Princes. The town of Midnapore was at this time made the northern boundary of Orissa.

Raja Ramchander Deo's first care was to recover the sacred relics belonging to the old image of Jagannath, which duty being accomplished with the assistance of their preserver Besar Mainti, the *Daru Murat*, or image made of the wood of the Nim tree, was fabricated according to the rules of the shaster, and again set up in the temple, on a propitious day, with much pomp and solemnity. The worship of Sri Jeo was now fully restored, all the feasts and endowments of the temple put on their old footing, and a number of sasans were founded in honour of the memorable event. It was disturbed again however almost immediately afterwards, by an invasion of Musselmans from Golconda, whose king or *Adipati*, as the Hindu writers call him, seems to have given the Raja a severe defeat.

In 1582 A.D. the celebrated Dewan of the empire, Raja Toder, or as the Urias call him Toral Mall, visited the province, to superintend the introduction of his settlement called the Taksim Jamma and Tankha Raqmi. He proceeded no further with it, apparently, than the three Sircars of Jelasore, Badrak, and Cuttack. All the account which is preserved of that important and memorable transaction, is, that from the time of Toral Mall's visit to the province, the measurement by the Bareh Dasti Padika or rod of twelve spans, was introduced. He is said to have treated the Raja with much respect, and to have admired greatly the temple and image of Jagannath, but his proceedings must have been fatal to the power and authority of the Gajapati

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prince, as he seems to have annexed nearly the whole of his domains to the imperial rent roll.

The Mogul arrangements for the management of the new Suba of Orissa, did not receive their final completion until A.D. 1592 or 999 Amli, when Raja Man Sinh, the imperial Lieutenant in Bengal, came to assume charge of the administration. His expedition was prompted, partly by the view to expel the Afghans, who under Kattali Khan[79] had again taken possession of a large part of province, and committed every where the most frightful ravages and excesses, and partly to settle disputes which had arisen between Ramchander Deo the titular Raja, and the two sons of Telinga Mukund Deo, of whom the eldest was named Ramchander Rai, and the second Chaki or Chakowri Bhowerber. The fate of Kattali Khan and his Afghans, may be read in Major Stewart's history of Bengal. With respect to the native princes, Raja Man Sinh finding that disputes ran high for possession of the Raj, and that both parties had powerful supporters amongst the Khandaits or Military Zemindars, it was judged expedient to make a division amongst them of the remnant left to the royal house of Orissa of the territories of their ancestors. Accordingly Khurda, with Purusottem Chetter, and certain Mehals, were assigned in Zemindari tenure, free of all tribute, to Ramchander Deo, with the title of Maha Raja, and the Musselman dignity of the commandership of three thousand five hundred. He was also allowed to exercise the chiefship or sovereignty over, and to collect tribute from, 129 of the killahs or jurisdictions of the Khetris of Orissa, including all the present Cuttack tributary Mehals south of the Mahanadi, and the Estates of Gumser, Moherry, &c. reaching as far as the borders of of Kimedy in Ganjam. Killah Al, with its dependencies, was assigned as a Zemindari to Ramchander, the eldest son of Telinga Mukund Deo, and Sarengerh on the same tenure to the second son Chakouri Bhowerber. Both were acknowledged as Rajas, and had the control of a number of the Killahjat estates in different parts of the district. These arrangements have been already adverted to more in detail, in that portion of my paper which is designed to furnish some account of the land tenures and political institutions of Orissa.

The title of sovereignty has been always acknowledged by the general voice and feeling of the country, to vest in the Rajas of Khurda, though disputed formerly by the other branches of the royal house who have now sunk into entire insignificance. The former received by far the largest and most valuable portion of the country, in Man Sinh's allotment, and the cession of Puri alone was a sufficient acknowledgement of their superior claims. Down to the present moment, the Rajas

[79] Qatlu Khan.

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of Khurda are the sole fountain of honour in this district, and all deeds whatever drawn out in the *Uria* language, bear the date of the Ank or accession of the reigning prince of that house, and are prefaced with a recital of his titles, which run precisely in the style adopted many centuries ago by the great Raja Anang Bhim Deo.

Ramchander Deo enjoyed his station and dignities for twenty-nine years. He was an able and respectable prince, and his memory seems to be much venerated by the natives of the province. "From his time, the field embraced by the Orissan annals, becomes greatly narrowed, though they still afford a vast deal of curious local information. The necessary limits of an essay of this kind confine me to an exhibition of 1st, A list of the names of the several Rajas and the duration of their reigns, and 2nd, a brief outline of such part of their history, as has any connection with the general affairs of the *Subah* of Orissa. The materials for an historical account of the country under this new denomination, are very scanty and imperfect. The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Mogul officers from the retirement of Raja Man Sinh in A.D. 1604, to the dewanship of the famous Nuwab Jaffer Khan Nasiri (A.D. 1707 to 1725), has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts ; though the century in question must be regarded as a most important period in the annals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices, and official designations, introduced by the imperial government during that interval. Subsequent to the elevation of Jaffer Khan, we meet with tolerably full and detailed journals and records both of the Mohammedan and Marhatta administrations, composed in the Persian language.

List of Khurda Rajas

Ramchander Deo, succeeds		A.D. 1586
Pursottem Deo,	...	... 1609
Narsinh Deo,	...	... 1630
Gangadhar Deo,	...	... 1655
Balbhadder Deo,	...	... 1656
Mukund Deo,	...	... 1664
Dirb Sinh Deo,[80]	...	... 1692
Kishen or Harikishen Deo,	...	... 1715
Gopinath Deo,	...	... 1720
Ramchander Deo,[81]	...	... 1727

[80] Divyasimha Deva.

[81] According to Hunter Rama Chandra Deva II ruled from 1725 to 1735 A.D. and according to one version of the *Madala Panji* Bira Kishor

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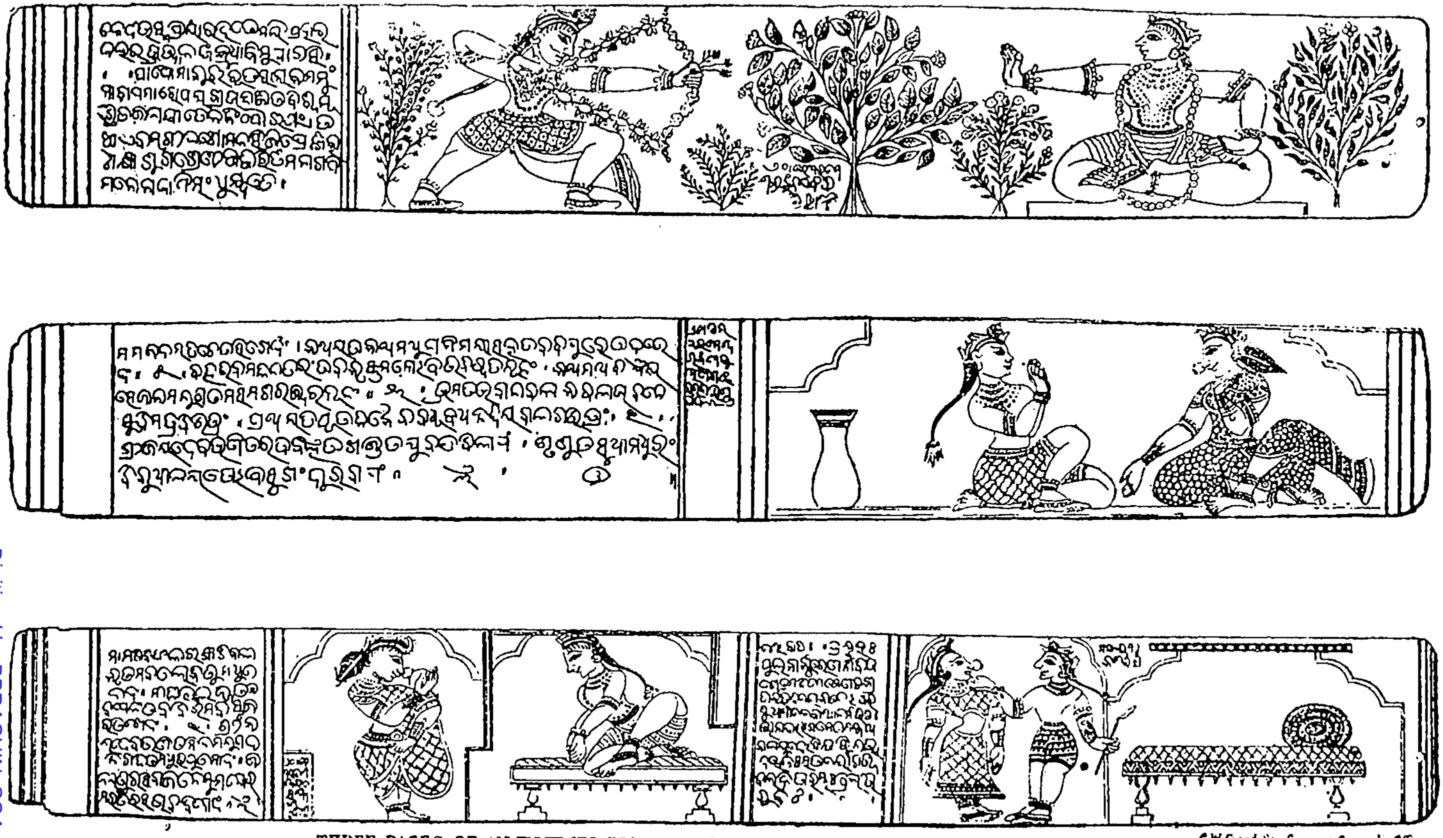

THREE PAGES OF AN ILLUMINATED PALM-LEAF BOOK IN THE URIYA CHARACTER

(In the Collection of W W Hunter Esq.)

C.W. Ccd. Sri. Surveyor General's Office

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Bir Kishore Deo,	A.D.	1743
Dirb Sinh Deo, (Divyasimha Deva) ...	...	1786
Mukund Deo, ...	...	1798

The southern part of Orissa Proper must have suffered much from the constant wars, insurrections, and internal commotions, that prevailed during the early times of the Musselman government. The Moguls seem to have been actuated by peculiar rancour and ill will towards Jagannath, and lost no opportunity of annoying and disturbing the Hindus in the performance of their devotions at his temple. To say nothing of other fruitful sources of jealousy and animosity, this interference alone was sufficient to produce many bloody encounters between the two nations, in which success was often doubtful. On the whole however, the native Princes suffered the most severely, and gradually sank before the superior energy and civilization of the Moguls. The Rajas had at first established their residence at Pipley; afterwards they retired to Rathipur; and finally built their fort and palace in a naturally difficult part of Khurda, where they were found settled in 1803. During these contests in and about Puri, the images so much venerated by the one party and abhorred by the other, were twice or thrice carried away across the Chilka Lake, and concealed amidst the hills, until the times appeared favourable for again setting them upon their thrones in the temple. This religious warfare was at last set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims, which if we may credit the author of the work translated by Gladwin, under the title of History of Bengal, yielded to the Mogul Government a revenue of nine lacs. Under such circumstances, religious antipathies however strong on the part of the ruling power, must have yielded gradually to considerations of self-interest.

The Afghans did not disappear from the field as disturbers of the peace of Cuttack, until 1611 A.D. when having again risen under Osman Khan the son of Kattali, they were defeated with great slaughter on the Subanrekha by Shujat Khan from Bengal, and compelled finally to submit. They then settled peaceably in many of the principal villages of the district, and their descendants at this day form no inconsiderable Musselman population, under the general denomination of Pathans.

On the side of Rajwara, the Rajas had to maintain many fierce contests with the Khetri chiefs or zemindars subordinate to them, who became turbulent and unruly in proportion as the power and consequence of the chief of their class declined. Frequently, no doubt, a spirit of aggrandizement urged the Rajas to become the aggressros. Of the operation of either one or

Deva ascended the throne in 1738 A.D. The intervening period of three years witnessed the rule of Padmanabha Deva whom both Stirling and Hunter have ignored.

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both causes of hostility, we may trace abundant proofs, in the dismemberment of many of the old Khandaitis recorded in the accounts of Raja Man Sinh's settlement, which became afterwards annexed to Khurda.

The state of the country is represented in no favourable light during the administration of the famous Jaffer Khan Nasiri, whose arrangements moreover could not have tended much to improve it. In Gladwin's history of Bengal it is mentioned that Jaffer Khan whilst Dewan, represented to the Court of Delhi, "the advantages that would accrue to the crown by transferring the Jagirs of the Mansabdars of Bengal to Orissa, where the lands are of less value, and the collections made with greater expense and difficulty." It is added that, the Emperor approving the scheme, assignments were granted upon Orissa, the *cultivation* of which province *had of late been very much neglected,* in lieu of the Bengal Jagirs.

The administration of Mohammed Taki Khan, the Naib, (1725 to 1735, A.D.) on the part of Shujaa ad Din Mohammed,[82] Nazim of the three provinces, is marked by a great reduction of the limits of the province of Orissa. In his time the remainder of the old Jelasore Sircar[83] lying between Tumlook, Midnapore, and the Subanreka, with the exception of a few small pergunnahs near the latter river, was annexed to Bengal, and the Nizam's government obtained possession either by force or intrigue of the entire country included between the estates called Tikally[84] Raghunathpur, and the Chilka lake, thus greatly reducing the revenues and authority of the Rajas of Khurda, whose control had before extended on the hill side, from Gumser to within forty miles of Cicacole. A war occurred between this governor, and the Raja Ramchander Deo of Khurda, which was terminated after a long struggle by the capture of the latter and his imprisonment in Cuttack. Temporary possession was taken of Khurda by the Musselmans, who established twenty-two thanehs from Banpur to Balwanta to repress the turbulent spirit of its rude inhabitants, but these were removed by order from Court, on the death of Ramchander, and the succession of Raja Bir Kishore Deo.

During Murshed Kuli Khan's[85] government, the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by the wars of that person with the

[82] At the time of Aurang Zeb's death (1707 A.D.) Murshid Quli Khan was the Nazim of Bengal and his son-in-law Shuja-uddin Muhammad Khan the deputy Nazim of Orissa. On Murshid Quli's death (1727 A.D.). Shuja-uddin became the Nazim and his illegitimate son Muhammad Taqi Khan was appointed the Deputy Nazim of Orissa.

[83] This sircar had been divided in Shah Jehan's reign into the four following sub-divisions viz. Goalpareh, Maljhettia, Mazkuri, and Jelasir.

[84] Forty-three miles N. E. of Cicacole.

[85] He is Murshid Quli Khan II, the son-in-law of Shuja-uddin. He succeeded Taqi Khan in 1734 A.D. as Deputy Nazim of Orissa.

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famous Aliverdi Khan, after his usurpation of the government of Bengal. Raja Bir Kishore Deo espoused the cause of the local governor, and by his assistance, enabled Baker Khan, the son-in-law of the latter, to continue the dispute for some time.

But the greatest of all their calamities was now impending over the unfortunate Orissans. After some alarming demonstrations in the year preceding, the Berar Marhattas suddenly made their appearance in the province, in Phalgun 1150 Amli, in large force under Bhaskar Pundit, Ali Shah, and other sirdars, with the professed object of demanding the Chout. There being no force in the province adequate to oppose them, they swept the whole country up to the walls of fort Barabatti, plundering whatever they could lay their hands on without mercy,—and the same scenes were repeated the year following, by a still larger army under Ragoji Bhonsla himself, and the famous adventurer Habib Ullah. Aliverdi Khan made astonishing efforts to relieve the province, as well as to protect the adjoining districts from these destructive inroads, but the people of Midnapore and Cuttack enjoyed little respite from the Marhatta incursions and depredations until 1157,[86] when a temporary arrangement was patched up between the Nazim and the Bhonsla, by which the former agreed to pay twenty-four lacs (including arrears) as the Chout[87] of the three provinces. The conditions of the treaty being very indifferently observed on the part of the Bengal government, a fresh army invaded Orissa in 1160, under the command of Raja Janoji Bhonsla and Mir Habib Ullah, who in the same year, in their camp at Choudwar, near the Mahanadi, projected and arranged a partition of the province between themselves, for the maintenance of their respective armies. Its resources on this occasion was estimated at only ten lacs. The northern portion from Pattaspur to Barrhunwa, yielding six lacs, was assigned for the support of the Afghan troops, and the southern from Barrunwa to Malud, rated at four lacs, was to be held by the Marhattas. On the treacherous murder of Habib Ullah Khan shortly afterwards in his camp at Garpedda, near Balasore Janoji became master of the whole province from Pergunnah Pattaspur to the Thaneh of Malud. His arrangement was, to allot the whole of the lands yielding revenue, as Mukaseh, for the support of his army, one Mehal being made over to the management of each sirdar. Things remained in this miserable state till 1161, when a fresh treaty was entered into, between the Marhattas and Aliverdi Khan, at the instigation of the whole body of the Zemindars of Midnapore and neighbouring districts, who, worn out by the repeated incursions of the Berar Marhattas, offered to pay any sum, in addition to the Tashkhis Mokerreri or fixed revenue of

[86] 1751 A.D.
[87] The Chauth was 12 lakhs.

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Bengal, which might be agreed to as a composition for the Chout Sir Des Mukhi. Masalih ad Din was in consequence dispatched by the Court of Moorshedabad to Nagpore, with full powers to treat, and the following arrangements were determined on, "The Chout of the three Subas was now settled at 12,00,000 annually. The Suba of Orissa from Pergunnah Pattaspur to Malud to be managed by a Subadar appointed from Bengal, who should yearly pay the surplus revenue of that province, estimated at four lacs, to an agent of the Bhonsla stationed at Cuttack. The remaining eight lacs were to be made good from Moorshedabad, Patna, &c. by Hundis or Bills of Exchange. The Marhatta armies forthwith to evacuate the province." On the conclusion of the treaty, Raja Janoji quitted Orissa, Mohammed Masalih ad Din received the appointment of Naib Subadar, and Sheo Bhat Santra, an eminent Gosain merchant, was named the agent for the Court of Berar to receive the four lacs from Cuttack, and to look after the annual remittance of the balance of the Chout from Moorshedabad.

Masalih ad Din[88] laboured honestly and zealously to discharge the obligations into which he had entered, and paid the four lacs for two years to the Nagpore agent, but at the end of that period he solicited permission to relinquish the government, stating forcibly his inability any longer to fulfil his engagements, owing to the declining resources of the country, and still more to the turbulent and unmanageable character of the Khandaits, or Military Zemindars of Orissa, who could be kept in no sort of subjection without the constant employment of a very large army in the field, the expense of maintaining which, engrossed the whole revenues. His statements so fully convinced his master of the impolicy of any longer retaining Cuttack, burthened with the condition of paying four lacs annually from its revenues, that a proposal was tendered to the Raja of Nagpore, to undertake the management of the country through officers of his own appointment, in lieu of the stipulated payment, which being agreed to, the Suba of Cuttack, fell from that date under the sole undisputed government of the Berar Marhattas, A.D. 1755-6.

The administration of the Marhattas in Cuttack, was, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, fatal to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country, and exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have been kept together under so calamitous a tyranny. All the head offices of the district, as those of Subadar, Dewan, and the Killadarship of fort Barabatti, were openly bought and sold at Nagpore. It frequently happened that appointments were given

[88]Mir Muslinuddin Khan.

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to two or three persons at the same time, and still oftener the individuals in charge refused to retire under various pretexts. The different claimants, assembling their followers, would fight the most obstinate battles, and lay waste the country, with their dissensions, before the right to succeed was settled. Pressed by the urgent irregular demands of the Court of Nagpore for remittances, and by the necessity of reimbursing themselves for the expenses incurred in obtaining office, the most ruinous shifts and expedients were perpetually resorted to, to wring a higher revenue from the lands, whilst their resources declined in proportion to the tyranny exercised over the cultivators. Notwithstanding that large military bodies were posted all over the district, the Marhattas were quite unable to retain the Khandaits and their paiks in any sort of order. Those of the sea shore and the hills, not only laid the whole of the pergunnahs bordering upon them under regular contribution, but frequently the Paiks[89] of several small Killahs, combining together, advanced into the heart of the district, and committed the most ruinous depredations up to the very walls of Cuttack. Every year regularly after the Dassera, the Marhatta armies took the field under the Subadar in person, and advanced into some part of the Rajwara, to chastise some insolence, or to enforce the demand for tribute. When successful, the most sanguinary punishments and destructive ravages were inflicted,—but they were frequently defeated, and their weakness exposed, by the Paiks of killahs which now scarcely retain a name. Besides, the continued marches and countermarches of a licentious disorderly Marhatta soldiery, in every direction across the province, were in themselves evils of no trifling magnitude. Matters improved a little towards the close of the Marhatta period, during the long administration of Raja Ram Pundit; but if the ryots were in a small degree better protected by his measures, he reduced, to the lowest stage of poverty and degradation, a powerful and important class, the hereditary Talukdars (now Zemindars) of the Mogulbandi, who were ejected by him, very generally, from the management of their Taluks, and left with scarcely even the means of subsistence.

As it would be impossible to render interesting to the general reader, the never varying detail of oppression, mismanagement, and suffering displayed by the Marhatta annals, I shall content myself, in my account of this fourth stage of Orissan history, with a brief enumeration of the successive Subadars who obtained authority, as far as any can be made out amidst the perpetual conflicts for power which disturbed the peace of the country, and with noticing a few events of general importance which mark that period.

[89] The Paiks are the peasant militia of Orissa.

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The first and most energetic of the Marhatta Subadars, was Sheo Bhat Santia, who exercised a disputed and precarious authority for a period of about eight years from 1163 to 1171, and may be said to have been in full possession of the powers of government for about half that period. He made a settlement of the revenue of the province, nominally at 18,00,000 of Arcot Rupees, of which 14,00,000 were entered as regular land revenue (Bandobasti Mulk,) and the remaining 4,00,000 as imposts under various heads. During his administration, a farther dismemberment took place of the territories of the Maharaja of Khurda. In 1167 Amli, Narain Deo, the famous Zemindar of Kimedy,[90] a descendant of the royal family of Orissa, who had before asserted his preferable title to the Khurda Raj, invaded that district by way of Banpur, with the avowed intention of taking possession of it, and drove the reigning prince Bir Kishore Deo before him. Unable to resist his powerful rival, the latter was thrown upon the dangerous expedient of claiming the assistance of the Marhattas, which was granted on condition of the payment of a large sum, to defray all expenses, in return. The aid of the Subadar proved effectual in clearing Khurda of the pretender's army, but the Raja being unable to discharge the money bargained for, he was obliged to mortgage or surrender temporarily for its liquidation, the best portion of his dominions, viz. the Mehals, Limbai, Raheng, Pursottem Chatter,[91] &c.—in short, the whole country lying between the Daya river, the lake and the sea, with the tribute of the fourteen Rajas or Khandaits of the hills, still subject to his control. The Marhattas were allowed to appoint their own Amils, and having thus gained a footing in the tracts in question, they never afterwards relinquished possession. The benefit of the acquisition seems doubtful, as the usurpation of Raheng, &c. involved them in a state of unceasing hostility with the Khurda Rajas, and the claim to levy the tribute of Rajwara brought them yearly into disputes and battles with the hill chiefs, in which, to say nothing of the expenditure of blood and treasure, they were nearly as often worsed as they were successful.

At the end of 1171 Amli, Sheo Bhat was violently expelled from his government,[92] by a powerful faction countenanced by

[90] Grant in his Palitical Essay in the Northern Sircars says of this person: "Kimedy, fifty miles N. E. by N. from the town of Cicacole, is the capital of another tributary but more accessible dependent principality vested in a Raja of the royal family of Orissa who actually bears the titular designation of that ancient house under the proper name of Gujipati Deo, through the refractory imprudence of Narain Deo. father of the present occupant, in opposing the Company's authority." Khimedy is Parlakhimedi.

[91] Purushottam Kshetra or Puri.

[92] Sheo Bhat or Sivaram Bhatta was a patriotic Marhatta diplomat and kept strict watch on the affairs of Mir Jafar and Mir Qasim in

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the Court of Nagpore. Chimna Sahu and Udi Pura Gosain then exercised the powers of government for a short time, until Bhawani Kalua Pandit arrived in the province, with the senned or appointment of Subadar. The Ex-Subadar was not however of a character to relinquish his authority without an obstinate struggle. He formed a powerful party amongst the Paiks of the eastern Rajwara, and for a length of time, disturbed the administration of his successor by frequent contests and inroads. The Paiks of other killahs espoused the opposite side. Troops were poured in from all quarters to quell these riots, and the frequent marches and countermarches of the armies of the government are credibly enough stated to have involved more serious evils to the whole of the fine Pergunnahs Hariharpur, Khandi, Jhanker, Deogaon, &c. than the disturbances they were sent to repress. Amidst all these troubles the excesses of the Kujeng, Kanka, and Rynto Paiks were ever conspicuous. The ferment excited amongst the Military Zemindars of Orissa and their adherents by these events, did not subside until many years afterwards. It does not appear how the career of their author and instigator finally terminated. La Motte[93] gives the following brief comparative sketch of the character of the administrations of the rival Governors: "Sheo Bhut plundered only his neighbours, but Bhawani Pundit committed depredations on his subjects and all parties alike."

Bhawani Pundit was recalled about 1175 Amli, and Sambha Ji Ganesh appointed his successor. The settlement made by him is remembered, with bitterness, for its severity and harshness. He imposed many new cesses on the ryots, and exercised unusual rigour in scrutinizing and resuming lands held in Jagir, or free of rent, as the ayma, milk, kharidgi, mouajib, dagrai, &c. Those holders who were permitted to remain in possession, were obliged to contribute to the necessities of the state, and were made over for a given number of years in Tenkhah or assignment to different detachments of troops.

After two years, a Mahajan, named Baba Ji Naik, received the appointment of Subadar, but his powers were disputed by the party in possession, and it was not till 1178 Amli, that he became firmly fixed in his seat. The district of Cuttack suffered grievously from the memorable famine, which desolated the lower provinces in 1769-70. Rice was not to be had for two

Bengal. The English were afraid of him and Januji Bhonsla foolishly took him as a traitor owing to British machination and removed him from the Governorship of Orissa on 24th April 1764.

93 Thomas Motte was sent by Clive from Calcutta to Sambalpur via Cuttack in 1766 A.D. for diamond trade. The narrative of his journey first appeared in 1786 in the Asiatick Miscellany vol. ii. It has been reprinted in the Journal of Orissa Historical Research Society vol. i. no. iii.

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seers per rupee, and many thousands of souls perished. To add to the general distress, an alarming mutiny broke out amongst the troops, which was not quelled for many months.

On the accession of Sabaji Bhonsla to the Mesned of Nagpore, Madhaji Hari was sent into Cuttack as governor. He threw his predecessor into confinement, and was occupied with arrangements for increasing the revenue of the country, when the accession of Madhaji Bhonsla occasioned a fresh change of administration. Baba Ji Naik once more received the senned of Subadari in 1182, and stepped from a jail to the highest rank in the province. After much intrigue and opposition however, the order for his appointment was recalled, and Madha Ji was alowed to remain in office. In 1183 another dreadful scarcity of grain was experienced in Cuttack. Rice was hardly to be purchased in the bazar of Cuttack at ten pans the katki ser.[94] In the mofussil, paddy rose as high as twelve pans per gun—Kulti to 12-2 and Mandova 1-4. Its destructive effects are most strikingly evinced, by the recorded fact, that a remission of seven lacs was granted in the revenues of that year.

Raja Ram Pundit, who had for many years filled the office of Deputy to the local governor, and had taken a leading part in all the arrangements for the management of the interior, succeeded to the office of Subadar, about 1185 or 1186. His personal qualities and abilities were respectable, and, coupled with his extensive local knowledge, lent a character of dignity and stability to his administration, with which no preceding one had been invested. The chief measure ascribed to him, is that of setting aside all the hereditary Chowdris and (Vilaity) Canungos, in other words the Talukdars of the Mogulbandi, and collecting the revenues through officers of his own appointing, either from the ryots direct, or through the agency of the head men of villages, where such existed. He was also the first governor who imposed a tribute on the Maharajas of Khurda. Raja Bir Kishore Deo, after a long reign of forty-one years, fell into a state of furious insanity, and committed such frightful excesses, even to the extent of murdering four of his own children, that a general outcry was raised against him throughout the country. The Marhattas did not neglect so favorable an opportunity of interfering. They secured the Raja's person, threw him into confinement in fort Barabatii, and refused to acknowledge his grandson Dirb Sinh Deo as successor, until they had obliged him to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute of Sa. Rs. 10,000. The expense of collecting this, must have been far greater than its value, for the Raja would never pay until compelled by the presence of a military force, and so low had the character and

[94] Katki seer weighs 110 tolas. In the later part of the 18th Century the value of Cowries was 3 Kahans 2 Panas to 3 Kahans 12 Panas per rupee.

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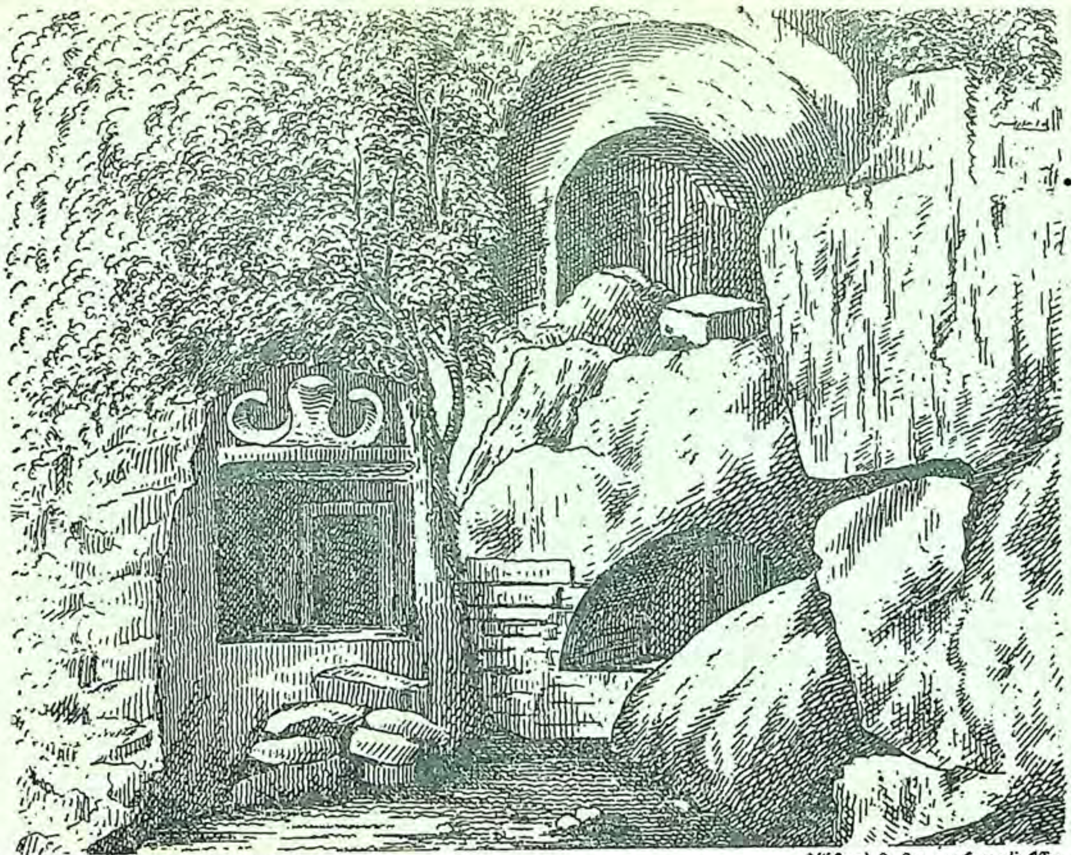

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SERPENT CAVE & ROCK CELLS

(Circ. 300 to 150 B.C.)

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efficiency of the Marhatta Infantry sunk, that the Paiks of Khurda often presumed to measure their strength with them, even in these last days of the power of the Rajas of Orissa.

Chimna Ji Bapu's visit to Cuttack, with a large army in 1781, A.D. is described as intended to enforce the claims of the Berar government against Bengal for arrears of Chout. Having cantooned his force at Kakkar, opposite to Cuttack, he sent on Raja Ram Pundit with Bissembher Pundit Vakil to Calcutta, who is said to have negotiated a treaty with Hastings, by which the English government agreed to the payment of Rs. 27,00,000 on condition of all further claims being relinquished.

On the retirement of Raja Ram Pundit in 1200 Amli, his son Sadasheo Rao was appointed Nazim, and after him Chimna Bala. Affairs however were managed chiefly by Inkaji Sukdeo, the Pher Nanis, and Bala Ji Kunwar, the commander of fort Barabatti, and principal military officer. In this state things were found in 1803, when the province was conquered by the English armies. The dominion of the Khurda Rajas was not finally extinguished till 1804, when a most unprovoked rising against the newly established English government, drew down upon Raja Mukund Deo the vengeance of the British power. He was driven from his fort, seized, sent a prisoner to Midnapore, and his remaining territory of Khurda was brought under the management of the British collectors. Since that period the proud but insignificant representatives of the Maharajas of Orissa, have been officially acknowledged only as private landholders; but the liberal policy of government has conferred on them a sufficient pension, and an office of authority connected with the temple, in the enjoyment of which they pass their days in tranquil and honorable retirement, within the sacred limits of Jagannath Puri.

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CHAPTER VII

RELIGION, ANTIQUITIES, TEMPLES AND CIVIL ARCHITECTURE

By Andrew Stirling

UTCALA DESA which is believed or fabled to be itself so holy a region throughout its entire extent, contains four places of pilgrimage of peculiar sanctity called the Hara Khetr, the Vishnu or Pursottem Khetr, the Arka or Padma Khetr, and the Vijayi or Parvati Khetr, within the limits of which will be found nearly all that is curious and interesting in the Religious Antiquities of the province.[1]

The Hara khetr, sacred to Mahadeo under the titles of the Linga Raja Bhuvaneswara, and thence called by the vulgar Bhobaneser, contains several very ancient and remarkable monuments of the native princes of the country, and their system of religious belief.

At Balwanta,[2] on the new road, sixteen miles from Cuttack, the attention of the traveller is attracted by a lofty massive tower of stone, rising from amidst the thickets which skrit the adjoining frontier of Khurda. A path leads through the woods towards this object of curiosity, and conducts, at the end of about six miles, to a gently swelling rocky elevation or Tangi formed of beds of the iron clay, on reaching which you find yourself, with astonishment, in the centre of a ruined city, consisting entirely of deserted and dismantled towers and temples sacred to the worship of Mahadeo, under the innumerable titles, which absurd legends or the fancy of his votaries have assigned to that deity. From amidst the whole, the great Pagoda of the Linga Raj, or Lord of the Lingam, lifts its singular form, eminently conspicuous both for size, loftiness, and the superior style of its architecture.

Bhobaneser was the site of a capital city founded by Raja Lalat Indra Kesari the third of the princes bearing that surname, who reigned from A.D. 617 to A.D. 660.[3] If we are to judge of its extent and populousness, during the period that it formed the seat of government of the Rajas of the Kesari Vansa, from the almost countless multitude of temples which are crowded

[1] Stirling omits the Binayaka Kshetra which is the fifth place of sanctity in Utkala-desa.

[2] Balianta.

[3] Lalata Indra Kesari or Lalatendu Kesari is identified with Udyota Kesari (10th century A.D.), son of Yajati II Mahasivagupta. His Capital was Chaudwar Kataka.

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within the sacred limits of the Panj Kosi, we might pronounce it to have been, in the days of its splendour, one of the greatest cities which India ever saw. Standing near the Chief Pagoda,[4] one cannot turn the eye, in any direction, without taking into the view upwards of forty or fifty of these stone towers. The natives say that there were originally more than seven thousand places of worship consecrated to Mahadeo, within and around the city of Bhobaneser, containing no less than a crore of lingams, and the vestiges that remain, fully warrant a belief, that the place may have comprized some *hundreds* of buildings of this description, when in its most flourishing state. A considerable number of the temples are still in a tolerable state of preservation, though entirely neglected and deserted. Many more are now screened from the view by the luxuriant foliage of the surrounding jungles, or present merely shapeless masses of stone buried amidst tangled brushwood and rank vegetation.

Nor is the astonishing number of the Bhobaneser temples the only remarkable feature of the place. The style, size, and decoration of these singular buildings, add greatly to the wonder and interest of the scene. They are all constructed, either of reddish granite resembling sandstone, or else of the free stone yielded plentifully by the neighbouring hills, in the form of towers rounded towards the summit, with other edifices attached rising from a square enclosure, the wall encompassing which is now generally in ruins. Their height is never less than fifty or sixty feet, and the loftier towers reach to an elevation of from one hundred and fifty, to one hundred and eighty feet. Not a wooden beam it may be observed has been used throughout. The stones are held together with iron clamps. Iron beams and pillars are used where such aids could not be dispensed with, but in general the architects have resorted, in the construction of their roofs, to the method of laying horizontal layers of stone, projecting one beyond the other like inverted steps, until the sides approach sufficiently near at the summit to admit of other blocks being placed across. The exterior surface of the buildings is in general adorned with the richest and most elaborate sculptured ornament, and the ruined courts which surround them, are strewed with a vast variety of curious relics, as bulls, lingams and other symbols appropriate to the worship of Mahadeo, representations of Ganesa, Hanuman, and various forms of Siva and Parvati, Durga, or Kali, Carticeya the god of war with his peacock, the female or energy of the same called Caumari, and the Narasinha and Baman Avatars. The more finished temples have frequently large well polished slabs of the grey

[4] Ward mentions it in his work on the Hindus under the name of Ekamrakanuna, "a place" he says, "on the borders of Orissa, containing Six Thousand temples dedicated to Shiva." Ekamra or Ekamber is the name given to the surrounding woods.

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chlorite slate, or pot stone, let into three of their sides, on which are sculptured, in alto relievo, nearly as large as life, some of the above personages, executed with no mean degree of skill and symmetry. Carved in the coarser stone of which the walls are constrcuted, one observes figures of Apsarasas or dancing nymphs in groups or solitary; forms of Mahadeo and Parvati sitting or standing together, generally in the most obscene attitudes; representations of warriors, horses, and elephants, engaged in combat or arranged in state processions: monsters resembling lions, with grim grotesque countenances, in various attitudes; and groups of a peaceful character exhibiting a Muni, or philosopher, imparting instruction to his pupils. The architrave of the door-way of every temple in Orissa is ornamented with the nine figures in a sitting posture, called the Nava Graha or nine planets, of which seven represent the divinities presiding over the days of the week, and the two remaining ones the brahminical ascending and descending nodes, Rahu and Ketu.

The forms and character of all the principal temples at Bhobuneser, and indeed throughout the province, being exactly similar, a more particular account of the plan and distribution of the great Pagoda will answer the purpose of a general description. The edifices which compose it, stand within a square area, enclosed by a substantial wall of stone, measuring six hundred feet on a side;[5] which has its principal gateway guarded by two monstrous griffins, or winged lions, in a sitting posture, on the eastern face. About the centre, the great tower, Bara Dewal, or sanctuary, in which the images are always lodged, rises majestically to a height of one hundred and eighty feet.[6] It is composed of a cluster of stone ribs, alternately flat and semicircular, eight principal and eight inferior ones, springing from a square ground plan, which towards the summit curve inwards, without, however, meeting.[7] They bear, as it were on their shoulders, a cylindrical neck, and this, with the aid of brackets in the form of eight immense griffins or lions, supports the ornamented crest or head piece, shaped somewhat like a turban, which forms so distinguishing a feature in the temple architecture of Orissa. It consists of a huge solid circular slab, called the Amla Sila, from some fancied resemblance to the fruit of the Amlika (Phyllanthus Emblica), on which rests another circular ornament, in the form of a large inverted earthen dish, and thence indeed called the *"Dihi Bandhi."* Sometimes the two ornaments are repeated. On the summit stands, either an urn, or the Chakra of Vishnu, according to circums-

[5] The compound measures 520 ft. × 465 ft. and is enclosed by a boundary wall of laterite stones.

[6] The height of the main temple is 127 ft. from the ground level.

[7] Stirling describes the *pagas* or the segments which constitute the *Ratha* style of the temple architecture.

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tances, surmounted by an iron spike, to which pendants are attached on occasions of ceremony. The best illustration that can be given, of the shape and appearance of the generality of these towers, is to compare them to a medicine phial or comfit bottle with the stopper inserted, though the comparison does not do justice to the picturesque effect of the grand and massive building which I am now describing. From each face of the sanctuary, at different degrees of elevation, a huge monster projects to a distance of several feet, which has the body of a lion, but a most grotesque and unnatural countenance, resembling nothing in the catalogue of terrestrial animals. The figure on the eastern face is by far the largest, and it has between its feet, an elephant of comparatively dimunitive size, on which it is trampling. This, it may be observed, is the common mode of representing the lion of Hindu mythology, one of the epithets of which is, Gaja Machula, or the destroyer of the elephant. The entrance to the tower lies through a large square vestibule or antichamber, crowned with a pyramidal roof, and surmounted by the crest or series of ornaments above described, which joins on to the eastern face of the sanctuary, and rises to about three-fourths of its height. It is called the Jagamohana, or that which delights the world, because it is from thence that the idol is generally seen and worshipped by pilgrims. These two buildings form the essential and most sacred part of the temples of Orissa. Farther in advance of the Jagamohana, and connected with it by a sort of colonnade, is another square edifice of precisely the same form, but smaller dimensions, which is called the Bhog Mandap, or apartment in which the idol's food is served up, and afterwards distributed amongst the officiating priests, &c. The Court of the Ling Raj contains many other towers and temples apart from those already enumerated, in whch a variety of the inferior deities, or less esteemed forms of the greater ones, are worshipped, and which add, by their style and number, to the general grandeur of its appearance, but do not need a separate description. The whole are adorned with a profusion of sculptured work, consisting of elaborately wrought cornices, beadings, arabesque and reticulated ornaments, and clusters of pilasters, with figures of men, animals, serpents and flowers intervening, arranged in such an infinite variety of devices, that the eye is absolutely bewildered in endeavouring to trace out any particular pattern or design. Amongst the ornaments on the great flat central ribs of the Bara Dewal, there is one peculiarly remarkable from its resemblance to some armorial bearing or heraldic device. Erskine, I observe, has given the figure of a strikingly similar ornament in his account of the cave temples of Elephanta, vide Bombay Transactions, vol. i. page 217, and plate vi. The brahmins explain it to be a compound of the Gada, Padma, Sankh, and Chakra,

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or Mace, lotus, conch-shell and discus of Vishnu, and it would seem therefore rather out of place, in the conspicuous position which it occupies on the walls of the Ling Raj ; but, it may be observed generally, of these edifices, that the sculptors have by no means confined themselves, in their choice of ornaments, to emblems peculiar to the deity of the place.[8]

The temple of the Ling Raj at Bhobaneser is both the finest monument of antiquity which the province contains, and likewise indisputably the most ancient. It took forty-three years to build, and local tradition as well as the histories of the country, concur in fixing the date of its completion, as A.D. 657.[9]

We have no particular accounts, of the period and causes of the decline of the city of Bhobaneser, and the worship of Mahadeo. Nearly all but the great temple, have been long since completely deserted ; and the establishment kept up there, is on a very small and inadequate scale, under the patronage of the Khurda Rajas, whose ancestors granted all the lands and endowments, by which the brahmins attached to it now subsist. It is occasionally visited by the Bengalee pilgrims on their way to Jagannath, and every year, at the Sheo Ratri, a considerable collection of Desi, or country pilgrims, are gathered together under its walls, to hold a mela or fair.

The ruins of two extensive palaces, belonging to the Rajas of the Kesari line, are shewn at or near Bhobaneser. There is likewise a very superb tank, lying north of the temple, called the Bindu Sagar, which forms a conspicuous object in the scenery of the place, and another, faced with stone, on the east, remarkable for its being bordered all round with rows of small antique looking temples, about thirty on a side, just large enough to contain the human figure in a sitting posture, in which sixty female ascetics, who had devoted themselves to the worship of Devi, are said to have lived and died many ages back. Amongst the curiosities of the environs, the attention of the visitor is generally directed to a huge figure of the lingam, forty feet in height,[10] at the temple of Bhaskaresar Mahadeo. It is formed of a single shaft of sandstone, situated partly in a subterranean vault, and part rising into the centre of a great tower, of the usual form, which is said to have been built round this impure and degrading object of worship, after it had been set up and consecrated.

About five miles west of Bhobaneser, near the village of Jagmara, in the Char Sudhi Khandaiti of Khurda, and still with-

[8] The temple of Lingaraja is, no doubt, dedicated to the honour of Siva, but in many respects it represents a synthesis between the Saiva and the Vaishnava cults.

[9] It was constructed by the middle of the 10th century A.D.

[10] This lingam is 9 ft. in height and 12 ft. in circumference at the base. It is supposed to be the remnant of an Asokan pillar.

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in the limits of the khetr, a group of small hills occur, four in number, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, which present many objects of interest and curiosity. These hills called severally the Udaya Giri, Dewal Giri, Nil Giri and Khand Giri, (by which latter name the spot is now generally designated,) are composed of a silicious sandstone of various colour and texture, and are all curiously perforated with small caves, disposed in two or three irregular stories. Each of the caves is large enough to contain from one to two human beings in a sitting posture. Some of them appear to be natural cavities, slightly improved by the hand of man; others have obviously been excavated altogether artificially; and the whole are grotesquely carved and embellished. In one part, a projecting mass of rock has been cut into the form of a tiger's head, with the jaws widely distended, through which a passage lies into a small hole at the back secured by a wooden door,—the residence of a pious ascetic of the Vyshnavite sect.[11] The ridiculous legend which the natives relate to explain the origin of these isolated hills, is, that they formerly constituted a part of the Himalaya, at which time they were inhabited by numerous Rishis, who dug the caves now found in them. They were taken up bodily, ascetics and all, by Mahabir Hanuman, with other masses of rock, to build the bridge of Rama, but, by some accident, were allowed to drop in their passage through the air, when they alighted in their present position. I am almost tempted to add, as a curious coincidence, that they are the only real sandstone hills found in this part of the country; but the geology of the district has not been sufficiently explored, to warrant my advancing such an assertion positively.

The summit of the highest rock, is crowned by a neat stone temple of modern construction, sacred to the worship of Parasnath; all around, and in the neighbourhood of which, are strewed a quantity of images of the Nirvanas,[12] or naked figures worshipped by the Jain sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock. At the back of these temples, highly remarkable terrace is shewn, called the Deo Sabha, or assembly of the gods, which is covered with numberless antique-looking stone pillars or temples in miniature, some standing, others lying on the ground, about two or three feet long, having, on each of the four sides, a figure of the naked Jain deity rudely sculptured. The place is still frequented by the Jain or Parwar merchants of Cuttack, who assemble here in numbers, once every year, to hold a festival of their religion.

A short way up the Udaya Giri hill, the Nour or palace of the famous Raja Lalat Indra Kesari, is pointed out as the chief

[11] It was originally meant for the Jaina ascetics.

[12] Tirthankaras.

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curiosity of the place.[13] It consists of a sort of open court formed by a perpendicular face of sandstone rock, about forty feet in height, with shoulders of the same projecting on either side. Rows of small chambers have been excavated in each face, arranged in two stories, and divided by a projecting terrace. Both the exterior surface and the innner walls of the chambers are decorated with cornices, pilasters, figures, and various devices, very rudely sculptured, and the whole exhibits a faint and humble resemblance, in miniature, to the celebrated cavern temples in the south-west of India. The rude and miserable apartments of the *palace*, are now occupied by byragis and mendicants of different sects, who state that the place had its origin in the time of Buddha, and that it was last inhabited by the Rani of the famous Raja Lalat Indra Kesari, a favourer of the Buddhist religion.[14] Many odd fables are related of the scrapes into which she was led by her heretical notions, and of the way in which her conversion to the orthodox system of worship was at last effected.

Farther up the same hill, on the overhanging brow of a large cavern, one meets with an ancient inscription cut out of the sandstone rock, in the very identical character which occurs on the pillars at Delhi, and which as yet has been only very partially deciphered.[15] Having been enabled to obtain an exact facsimile of this interesting monument by the assistance of Colonel Mackenzie, whom I conducted to the spot in 1820, I annex the same at the end of this chapter. There are I think two eminently remarkable circumstances connected with the character used in the above inscription. The first is the close resemblance of some of the letters to those of the Greek alphabet, and the second the occurrence of it on sundry monuments situated in widely distant quarters of India. In support of the first assertion, I need only point the attention of the reader to those of the characters which are exactly similar to the Greek on, sigma, lambda, chi, delta, epsilon, and a something closely resembling the figure of the digamma. With regard to the second, any reader who will take the trouble of comparing the Khandgiri inscription with that on Firoz Shah's Lat at Delhi, on the column at Allahabad, on the Lat of Bhim Sen, in Sarun, a part of the Elephanta, and a part of the Ellora inscriptions, will find that the characters are identically the same.

A portion of the Ellore and Salsette inscription written in the above character, has been deciphered by the learning and ingenuity of Major Wilford, aided by the discovery of a key

[13] Stirling here refers to the double storeyed Ranigumpha of the Udayagiri hill.

[14] These caves very probably were caused to be excavated by the queen of the great King Kharavela (1st century B.C.).

[15] This is the famous Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela.

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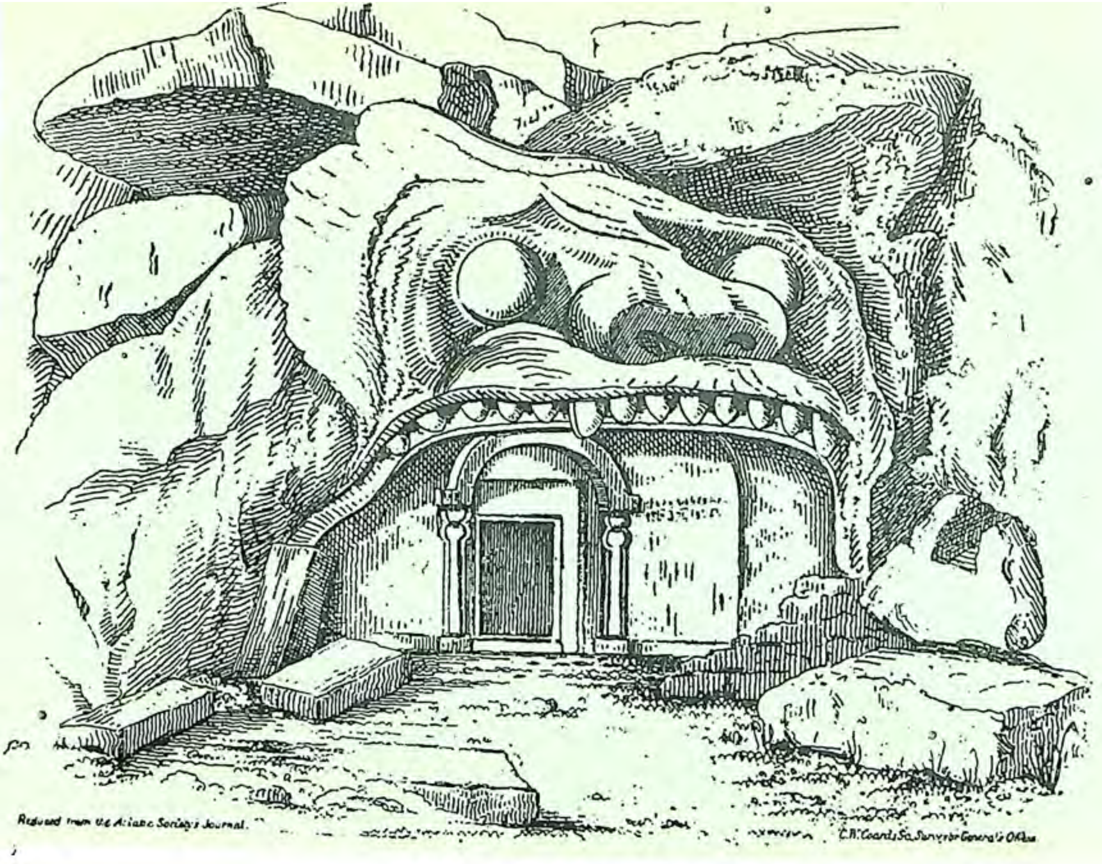

TIGER CAVE, UDAYAGIRI

(Circ. 300 B.C.)

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to the unravelling of ancient inscriptions in the possession of a learned brahmin, vide the eleventh article of vol. v. Asiatic Researches ; and it is to be regretted that the same has not been further applied to decyphering the Delhi and other characters. The solution attempted by the Pere Trieffenthaler, does not seem to me to merit any attention.[16] The natives of the district can give no explanation whatever on the subject. The brahmins refer the inscription with shuddering and disgust, to the Budh Ka Amel, or time when the Buddhist doctrines prevailed, and are reluctant even to speak on the subject. I have in vain also applied to the Jains of the district for an explanation. I cannot however divest myself of the notion that the character has some connection with the ancient Pracrit, and considering that it occurs in a spot for many ages consecrated to the worship of Parasnath, which the brahmins are pleased to confound with the Buddhist religion, and that the figure or characteristic mark which appears in company with it thus 卐 ,[17] does in some sort seem to identify it with the former worship, I am persuaded that a full explanation is to be looked for only from some of the learned of the Jain sect.

The Vishnu or Purushotama Khetr (Pursottem Chetr) extends, I believe, properly from the Bytarni to the Rassikoila river at Ganjam, but the more sacred part of it is comprised within a range of five *coss*, in the centre of which, termed fantastically the Sank'h Nabhi Mendel,[18] and on a low ridge of sand hills dignified with the title of the Nilgiri or Nilachal (blue mountain), stands the famous temple of Jagannath, "that mighty Pagoda or Pagod, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry." The building in its form and distribution resembles

[16] He says, speaking of Firoz Shah's pillar ; Apres avoir beaucoup et long temps cherche jai trouve la signification de ces caracteres. Ce sont en partie des signes numeriques, en partie des figures d'instruments de guerre dont es Indiens se servoient autrefois. Δ est le caracter de nombre huit: 8 celui du nombre quatre ; O designe le sceptre de Rama joint Δ unglobe. N designe le figure d'une charrue qui etoit autrefois un instrument de guerre chez les Indiens. X a dela ressemblance avce la lettre qui signifie *C* on *K*: il est plus probable cependant que cette figure de *dix* Roman on *Ch* grec designe une fleur a quatre feuilles dont les gentils employent quelque fois la figure pour servir al'interponctuation des mots ; Δ triangle qui est la Deesse, Bavani ; ε est la charactere du nombre 6. E enfin designe une espece de hallebarde avec laquelle Ram coucha sur le carreau un geant a mille bras. De ce que ces-caracteres ont de la ressemblance avee les characteres grecs quelques Europeens ont cru que cet obelisque avoit ete eleve par Alexandre la grand: mais c'est une erreur, &c.

[17] Colebrooke, in his account of the Jains, gives the figure of a mark very much resembling this which he calls the Nandaverta, characteristic of the deified saint Ara. This symbol is known as Swastika.

[18] Sankha Nabhi Mandala the navel region of the Conch. The Purushottam Kshetra is called Sankha Kshetra and is supposed to be conch-shaped.

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closely the great Pagoda at Bhubanneswar; nor do the dimensions of the two edifices greatly differ, but the Jaganath one has the advantage in point of situation. Altogether its appearance is certainly imposing from its loftiness and the mass of masonry which it comprizes, but the execution is extremely rude and inelegant, and the form and proportions of the principal object, the Bar Dewal or great tower, are, it must be acknowledged, by no means pleasing to the eye. The present edifice was completed A.D. 1198 at a cost of from forty to fifty lacs of Rupees, under the superintendence of Param Hans Bajpoi, the minister of Raja Anang Bhim Deo, who was unquestionably the most illustrious of all the Gajapati princes of Orissa, and it seems unaccountable that in an age when the architects obviously possessed some taste and skill, and were in most cases particularly lavish in their use of sculptured ornament, so little pains should have been taken with the decoration and finishing of this sacred and stupendous edifice. Its appearance has further suffered of late years from the exterior having been covered with a coating of chunam which has all been washed off excepting a few stains and patches, and still more from the barbarous practice now in force of marking out parts of the sculpture with red paint. The material used for the construction of the temple is chiefly the coarse granite, resembling sandstone, found abundantly in the southern part of Cuttack. The following is a sketch of the plan of it. The edifices composing and connected with the temple which are very numerous, stand in a square area enclosed by a lofty stone wall, measuring about six hundred and fifty feet on a side. A broad flight of twenty-two steps leads from the Sinh Darwazeh[19] or principal gate of entrance, on the east, to a terrace twenty feet in height, enclosed by a second wall four hundred and forty-five feet square, on which occurs first the apartment called the Bhog Mandap.[20] In a line, and connected with it by a sort of low portico (the Mukt Mandap), is the great antichamber of the temple called the Jagmohan, which adjoins and opens into the tower or sanctuary. The tower itself rises to a height of about one hundred and eighty feet from the terrace, or two hundred from the ground.[21] The ground plan is a square measuring thirty feet on a side. Most of the other principal deities of the Hindoo Pantheon have temples at this place situated between the two enclosures. The eastern gate is flanked and guarded by colossal figures of lions, or more properly griffins, in a sitting posture, and by smaller images of the mythological porters Jaya and Vijaya resting on their clubs, sculptured on the side posts. In front stands a column of dark coloured basalt,

[19] The Lion gate.

[20] The Bhoga mandapa with the inner enclosure was constructed during the reign of Purushottamdeva (1467-1497 A.D.).

[21] It is about 120 ft. high.

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with a base of the mineral resembling pot-stone, remarkable for its light and elegant appearance and the beauty of its proportions, which supports a figure of the monkey-god Hanuman. One might guess that this is the work of artists of a different class and æra from those who raised the temple of Jagannath and the fact is really so, it having been brought from the famous, but now deserted, temple of the sun at Kanarak, about sixty years ago, by a brahmachari inhabitant of Puri, of great wealth and influence.

Some ingenious speculations have been hazarded upon the origin and meaning of the worship of Jagannath and the causes of the peculiar sanctity of the place, but amidst the conflicting and contradictory legends and traditions which prevail, it seems scarcely possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on the subject. The accounts given in the writings of the Hindus, more especially the Kapila Sanhita and the Khetr Mahatmya of the temple, are simply as follows, divested of the loads of declamation and repetition which embarrass the perusal of them. From the beginning of all things until the expiration of the first half of the age of Brahma, Parameswara, Sri Bhagwan, or Jagannath, in other words Vishnu, dwelt on the Nilachal in Utkala Desa, in the form of Nil Madhava. The fame of this form of the deity having reached the Court of Indradyumna, Maharaja of Avanti or Oujein, an eminently devout and pious prince in the Satya Yuga, he conceived a desire to perform worship at the sacred shrine, and accordingly set out on a journey to Orissa with a large army, after having first dispatched a brahmin to make inquiry. Just as he reached the spot on the expiration of a three months' journey, it was reported to him that the image of Nil Madhava had disappeared from the face of the earth. The Raja was overwhelmed with disappointment at this intelligence, and fell into a state of the deepest melancholy and affliction until comforted in a dream by the deity, who informed him that although he had abandoned his former shape, he would soon reappear again, (or that a fresh Avatar would take place), in a still more sacred form, that of the Daru Brahm which would remain to all ages. Shortly after, the Maharaja was apprized that a Daru,[22] or log of wood of the Nim tree (Melia Azadirachta) was to be seen floating to the shores of Pursottem Chetr from the quarter of the Sitadwip island, adorned with the Sankha, Gada, Padma, Chakr, or several emblems of Vishnu, viz. the conch shell, mace, lotus and discus, and bearing a most divine and beautiful appearance. Transported with joy the

[22] Some accounts say that the Maharaja had first to perform a hundred thousand Aswa Medha Jajnas or sacrifices of the house before favored with a view of this choice form of the deity, but as usual with every Hindu fable there is prodigious discrepancy in the several versions of it.

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pious prince ran to the sea shore, embraced the sacred log, which he was satisfied from the above symptoms must be a real form of Vishnu, and proceeded to deposit it with great ceremony in a consecrated enclosure. He then through the advice of Narad Muni, who had accompanied him, obtained the aid of Visvakerma, the architect of the gods, to arrange the image in its proper form. At the first blow of the sacred axe of the Hindu Vulcan, the log split of itself into the *four-fold image* or Chatur Murti. A little colouring only was necessary to complete them, and they then became recognized as Sri Krishna or Jagannath distinguished by its black hue, Baldeo, a form of Siva, of a white colour, Subhadra, the sister of these brothers of the colour of saffron, and a round staff or pillar with the chakra impressed on each end called Sudersan. The Raja's next care was to erect a temple and to establish the worship on a suitable scale of splendour. On the great day when all was ready for consecrating the temple, Brahma himself and the whole company of the deities of Indra's court, came down from heaven on their several appropriate vehicles to offer up worship at the shrine of the lord of the universe, which, say the Urias, has since that period, and especially in the Kali yuga, maintained a rank and celebrity such as even Kasi, Brindaban, or Setu Band Rameswar, cannot boast of.

The Hindus of Orissa endeavour, though with vastly little foundation, to ascribe to the worship of Jagannath a more *spiritual* character than is generally claimed for their superstition elsewhere. They refer to the common title of the divinity of the place, which implies the Brahma or Divine spirit that pervades and sustains the universe, and are fond of quoting a passage in the legendary account of the temple which runs thus, "Hear now the truth of the Daru Avatar," (the appearance of the deity in the form of the Nim tree log,) "What part of the universe is there which the divine spirit does not pervade? In every place it exults and sports in a different form. In the heaven of Brahma it is Brahma ; at Kylas it is Mahadeo ; in the upper world it is Indra ; on the face of the earth it is to be found in all the most renowned Khetrs, at Baddrika as Badrinath ; at Brindaban and Dwaraka as Krishen ; at Ayodhya (Oude) in another shape ; but in the Khetr of Pursottem it appears in its true and most sacred form." The Brahmins also have a practice of dressing up the figure of Sri Jeo (lit. the holy spirit) in a costume appropriate to the occasion, to represent the principal deities, on the occurrence of the yearly festivals held in honor of each, which are termed the different Bhues, or Phases, of the Thakur. Thus at the Ram Navami, the great image assumes the dress and character of Rama ; at the Janam Ashtami, that of Krishna ; at the Kali Puja, that of Kali ; when the Narsinha Avatar is celebrated, that of Narsinh ; when the

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Baman Avatar, that of the mighty dwarf. This would seem to evince some symptoms of a belief that in offering up worship to Jagannath, his votaries do not confine their adoration to any particular deity, but adore the whole host of the Hindu heaven, or rather the spirit which animates them, whilst at other Khetrs the Divinity of the place alone is worshipped. Paterson's hypothesis refers the worship now under consideration to the adoration of the mystical syllable, A, U, M, coalescing into Om, and is certainly the most ingenious and plausible that has been suggested, but goes far beyond the knowledge or comprehension of the most learned or intellectual of the present day. All the explanation which the more intelligent brahmins can or will afford on the subject, is, that they worship at Jagannath, Bhagwan or the supreme spirit itself, and not any subordinate deity; that the images are shapeless, because the Vedas have declared that the deity has no particular form; and that they have received their present grotesque and hideous countenances, with the view to terrify men into being good. The same fancy which has invested the Khetr of Jagannath with superior sanctity, is the cause, of course, of the unusual virtue ascribed to the Mahaprasad, or food cooked for the deity, and consecrated by being placed before the images. The Khetr Mahatmya says, that Maha Lukshmi herself prepares and tastes it. He who eats it is absolved from the four cardinal sins of the Hindu faith, viz. killing a cow, killling a brahmin, drinking spirits, and committing adultery with the female of a Guru or spiritual pastor. So great is its virtue that it cannot be polluted by the touch of the very lowest caste, and the leavings even of a dog are to be carefully taken up and made use of. The most tremendous and inexpiable of all crimes, is to handle and eat the Mahaprasad, without a proper feeling of reverence.

Without going into any profound speculation as to the origin, nature, and meaning of the worship of Jagannath, there is one cause sufficiently obvious why all sects should here unite in harmony in the performance of their religious ceremonies, viz. that the temple instead of being consecrated exclusively to some form of the deity Vishnu alone, is in fact occupied, in joint tenancy, by forms of three of the most revered divinities of the Hindu faith. Balbhadra or Baldeo, (Balarama,) the elder brother, who is treated with the greatest respect, though not so popular as his black relation, is clearly identified with Mahadeo, both by his white colour, and the figure of the serpent Shesha or Ananta[23] which forms a hood over the back part of his head; and Subhadra is esteemed a form of Devi or Kali, the female energy of the above. The precedence is always given to the elder brother; he has a rath or chariot of equal size with that

[23] Both these words in Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary are explained to mean a serpent and a name of Baladeva.

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of Jagannath, and altogether the veneration paid to him is quite sufficient to conciliate the votaries of Siva, who are the only violent or bigoted sectaries. All other deities too are allowed to occupy niches or temples within the precincts of the great Pagoda, and are treated with so much respect, that the most obstinate sectary could not with any decency or consistency refuse to join in the general worship of the place.

The legend above quoted by me regarding the establishment of the worship of Jagannath, does not provide for or explain the sacred deposit which popular belief, sanctioned by the brahmins, places in the belly of the image. Some conjecture it to be a bone of Krishna, but how it came there is not explained. As the image has been often remade of the wood of the Nim tree, it seems not improbable that it may be a relic of the old original idol which is thus religiously preserved. With regard to the Raja Indradyumna, he is mentioned by Wilford as famous in the fabulous legends relating to the Sweta Dwipa or White Islands of the west. The memory of his visit to Puri has been perpetuated, independently of the temple legends, by a superb tank which bears his name. Either the author of the Ayin. Acberi, or his translator, has confounded things together, in calling him Raja Indra Dummun of Nilkurpurbut (Nilgiri Parvat) instead of stating that he visited the sand hills at Puri called by that name in the Hindu writings. The assertion also of Abulfazl that the image of Jagannath is made of sandal wood, is founded apparently on some confusion between the material appropriated to that purpose, and a bar of timber used for closing the entrance of the temple during the Chandan Jatra, thence called the Chandan Daru or sandal wood.

The principal ceremonies of the temple of Jagannath, its festivals, the rules for the collection of the tax, and general system of management, have been described with sufficient accuracy and detail by Hamilton. The monstrous idols of the place may be seen daily, with few exceptions, seated on their Sinhasan, or throne, within the sanctuary, but they are publicly exposed to view on two occasions only in the year, the Asnan and the Rath Jatras. At the Asnan or festival of the bath, Jagannath and his brother, after undergoing certain ablutions, assume what is called the Ganesh Bhues or form of the elephant-headed god, to represent which the images are dressed up with an appropriate mask. Thus arrayed, they are placed on a high terrace overlooking the outer wall of the temple, surrounded by crowds of priests who fan them to drive away the flies, whilst the multitude below gaze in admiration.

At the Rath Jatra, the images, as is well known, are indulged with an airing on their cars and a visit to the god's country house, a mile and a half distant, named the Goondicha Nour, after the Rani of Maharaja Indradyumna who founded the wor-

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ship. The display which takes place on this occasion has been often before described, but some brief notice of it will naturally be expected in a paper treating professedly of Cuttack.

On the appointed day, after various prayers and ceremonies have been gone through within the temple, the four images are brought from their throne to the outside of the Lion gate—not with decency and reverence, seated on a litter or vehicle adapted to such an occasion—but a common cord being fastened round their necks,[24] certain priests to whom the duty appertains, drag them down the steps and through the mud, whilst others keep the figures erect and help their movements by shoving them from behind, in the most indifferent and unceremonious manner, as if they thought the whole business a good joke.[25] In this way the monstrous idols go rocking and pitching along through the crowd, until they reach the cars which they are made to ascend by a similar process up an inclined platform reaching from the stage of the machne to the ground. On the other hand, a powerful sentiment of religious enthusiasm pervades the admiring multitude of pilgrims assembled without, when the beloved images first make their appearance through the gate. They welcome them with the loudest shouts of joyful recognition and stunning cries of Jye Jagannath, victory to Jagannath ; and when the monster Jagannath himself, the most hideous of all the figures, is dragged forth the last in order, the air is rent with plaudits and acclamations. These celebrated idols are nothing more than wooden busts about six feet in height, fashioned into a rude resemblance of the human head resting on a sort of pedestal. They are painted white, yellow, and black respectively, with frightfully grim and distorted countenances, and are decorated with a head dress of different colored cloths shaped something like a helmet. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears. The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form. Their Raths[26] or cars have an imposing air from their size and loftiness, but evey part of the ornament is of the most mean and paltry description, save only the covering of striped and spangled broad cloth furnished from the Export Warehouse of the British Government, the splendour and gorgeous effect of which com-

[24] Round their waists.

[25] Stirling either failed or did not care to know the significance of the Pahandi Vigaya ceremony of Jagannath, which he depicts as a good joke.

[26] Stirling gives the following measurements of the three cars:—

"Jagannath's Rath, called Nandi Ghos, measures forty-three and a half feet high. It has sixteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter each and a platform thirty-four and a half feet square. The Rath of Baldeo, called Thala Dhaj, is about forty-one feet high and has fourteen wheels. The Devi or Subhadra Rath called Padma Dhaj is forty feet high, the platform thirty-one square and fourteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter."

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pensate in a great measure for other deficiencies of decoration. After the images have been safely lodged in their vehicles, a box is brought forth containing the golden or gilded feet, hands, and ears of the great idol, which are fixed on the proper parts with due ceremony, and a scarlet scarf is carefully arranged round the lower part of the body or pedestal. Thus equipped and decorated, it is worshipped in much pomp and state by the Raja of Khurda, who performs before it the ceremony of the Chandalo, or sweeping, with a richly ornamented broom. At about this period of the festival, bands of villagers enter the crowd dancing and shouting, with music playing before and behind, each carying in his hand a branch of a tree. They are the inhabitants of the neighbouring Pergunnahs, Raheng, Limbai, &c. called Kalabetiahs, whose peculiar duty and privilege it is, conjointly with the inhabitants of Puri, to drag the Raths. On reaching the cars, they take their station close to them, and soon as the proper signal has been given, they set the example to the multitudes assembled, by seizing on the cables, when all advance forwards a few yards, hauling along generally two of the Raths at a time. The joy and shouts of the crowd on their first movement, the creaking sound of the wheels as these ponderous machines roll along, the clatter of hundreds of harsh sounding instruments, and the general appearance of so immense a moving mass of human beings, produce, it must be acknowledged, an impressive, astounding, and somewhat picturesque effect, whilst the novelty of the scene lasts, though the contemplation of it cannot fail of exciting the strongest sensations of pain and disgust in the mind of every Christian spectator. At each pause, the Dytahs or Charioteers of the god advance forwards to a projecting part of the stage, with wands in their hands, and throwing themselves into a variety of wild and frantic postures, address some fable or series of jokes to the multitude, who grunt a sort of response at the proper intervals. Often their speeches and actions are grossly and indescribably indecent. The address generally closes with some peculiarly piquant allusion, when the gratified mob raise a loud shout as their final response, and all rush forward with the cables. The progress made varies greatly according to the state of the roads, the care used in keeping the Raths in a proper direction, the zeal and number of the pilgrims, and the will of the priests or as they say of the god, the former having some method of choking the wheels, and thereby preventing the movement of the cars, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the credulous multitude to advance forwards. Generally from two to three days are consumed in reaching the Gondicha Nour, where the images are taken out. Before even this period has elapsed, the curiosity and enthusiasm of the pilgrims have nearly quite evaporated, they steal off in numbers, and leave Sri Jeo to get back to the temple as he may.

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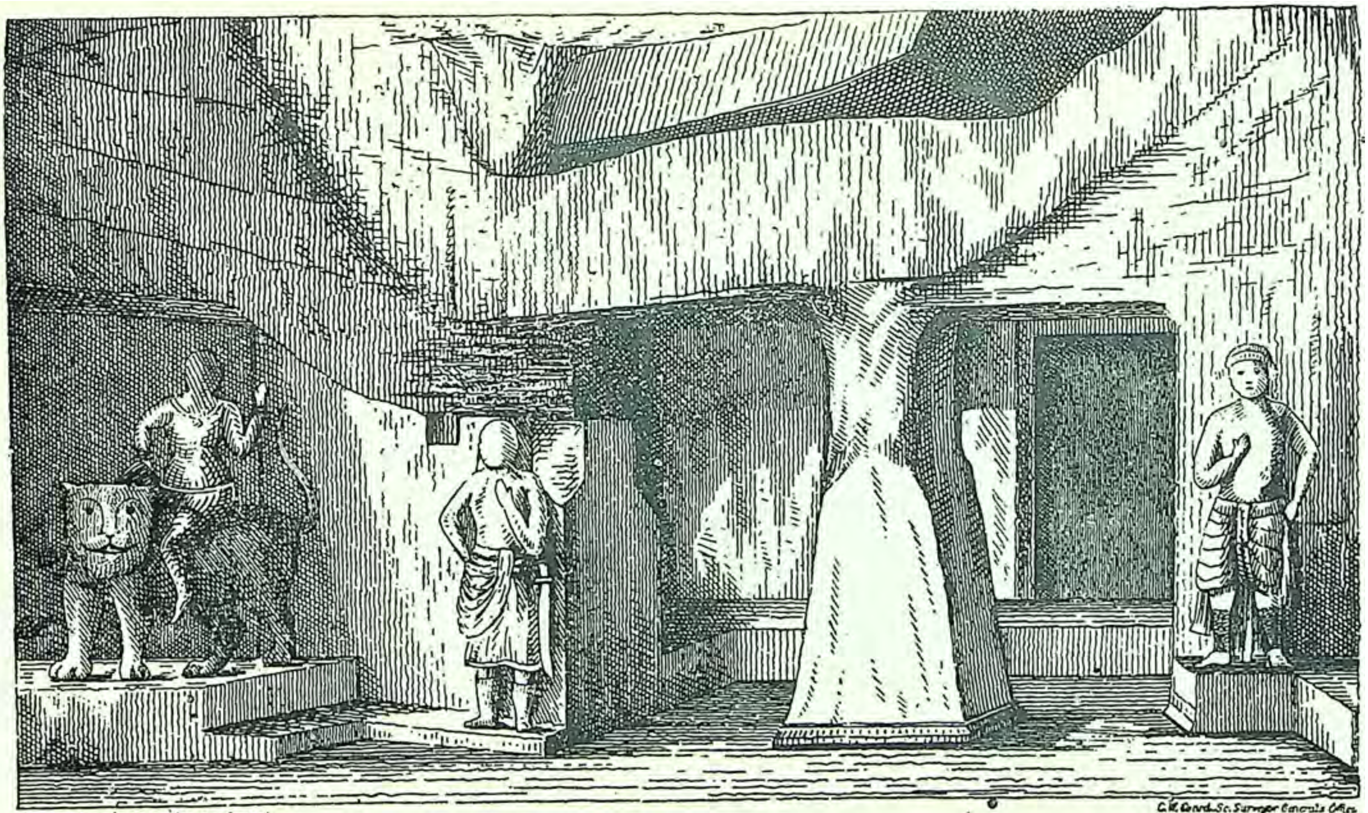

Reduced from the Asiatic Society's Journal

C. E. Conrad. Sc. Surveyor General's Office.

ANCIENT FIGURES IN BOOTS & GREAVES

Cut out of the rock (circ. 200 B.C.)

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Without indeed the aid of the villagers before described, and of the population of Puri who hold their ground free of rent on condition of performing this service to the deity, the Raths would now-a-days infallibly stick always at the Gondicha Nour. Even the god's own proper servants will not labor zealously and effectually without the interposition of authority, and I imagine the ceremony would soon cease to be conducted on its present scale and footing, if the institution were left entirely to its fate and to its own resources, by the officers of the British Government.[27]

That excess of fanaticism which formerly prompted the pilgrims to court death by throwing themselves in crowds under the wheels of the car of Jagannath, has happily long ceased to actuate the worshippers of the present day. During four years that I have witnessed the ceremony, three cases only of this revolting species of immolation have occurred, one of which I may observe is doubtful and should probably be ascribed to accident; in the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from some excruciating complaints, and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burden of life, in preference to other modes of suicide so prevalent with the lower orders under similar circumstances. The number of pilgrims resorting to Jagannath has I think been exaggerated, as well as the waste of human life occasioned thereby, though doubtless, in an unfavourable season, or when the festival occurs late, the proportion of deaths caused by exposure to the inclemency of the weather, is very melancholy. The following is a statement of pilgrims of all classes who attended for the last five years at the three great festivals, procured from the most authentic sources:

1817-18	Paying Tax,	35,941	Exempt	39,720	Total	75,641
1818-19	do.	36,241	do.	4,870	Total	41,111
1819-20,	do.	92,874	do.	39,000	Total	1,31,874
1820-21,	do.	21,946	do.	11,500	Total	33,446
1821-22,	do.	35,160	do.	17,000	Total	52,160

The Khetr of Jagannath or Vishnu contains temples innumerable sacred to the worship of all the other principal deities, and some secondary ones rarely met with elsewhere, as the god Cuyera or Plutus, who has a curious antique looking temple amongst the sand hills on the coast. Shiva and his female energy are likewise fabled to reside constantly within its limits, in sixteen different forms, eight male and eight females. The male ones or Sambhus are figured by images called Yameswara,

[27] Stirling's description of the car festival indicates how cynical and misanthropic were the early British administrators and scholars in their attitude towards religion and culture of India. Later on, however, by the time of Hunter, their religious vanity and misconceit softened to a considerable extent.

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Visveswara, Gopal Mochan, Markandeswara, Nilkantheswara, Trilochan, Bhuteswara, and Pataleswara ; the female figures or Chandis have the appellations of Mangala, Bimla, Sarvamangala, Kali, Dhatri, Kamakhya, Ardha Asti, and Bhawani. There is also a small Sikh College amongst the sand hills inhabited by three or four priests of that sect. The horrid practice of self-immolation of widows prevails less at Puri than might perhaps have been expected, with reference to the general character of the place and the numerous families which resort there to pay their devotions, the average of Satis not exceeding six per annum for the police division in which it is comprized. The concremation both of the dead and the living bodies takes place on the sea shore, close to the civil station, at a spot impiously called the Swarga Dwara or passage to heaven. There is this peculiarity in the rite as performed here, that instead of ascending a pile, the infatuated widow lets herself down into a pit, at the bottom of which the dead body of the husband has been previously placed with lighted faggots above and beneath. The latest returns show the whole number of victims who destroy themselves annually in the above revolting manner, to average at from twenty to thirty for the entire district of Cuttack.

The Arka or Padam Khetr is distinguished by its containing the remains of the celebrated temple of the sun, called in our charts the black Pagoda which is situated amidst the sand hills of the sea shore, near the site of the old village of Kanarak, eighteen miles north of Jagannath Puri. The Jagmohan or antichamber is the only part of the building which exists in tolerably good preservation. The great tower has been shattered and thrown down by some extraordinary force, either of an earthquake or lightning, and in its fall seems to have injured that side of the adjoining edifice which looks towards it. A small section however still remains standing, about one hundred and twenty feet in height, which viewed from a distance gives to the ruin a singular appearance, something resembling that of a ship under sail. The whole of the outer enclosures of the temple have long since disappeared, and nothing is left of the edifice called the Bhog Mandap but a heap of ruin, completely buried under a sand hill.

The black Pagoda even in its present imperfect and dilapidated condition, presents a highly curious and beautiful specimen of the ancient Hindu temple architecture, and as it has long been completely deserted, we may here study at leisure and without interruption, some of the most striking peculiarities of that style.

The deity of the place is called by the vulgar Sooruj Deo (Surya), and at full length, Chunder Sooruj Birinji Narayan.[28] The origin of the worship of a divinity so little honored in India

[28] Biranchi Narayana.

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generally speaking, is ascribed to Samba, the son of Krishna, who having been afflicted with leprosy and banished from his father's Court at Dwarka, as a punishment for accidentally looking in upon the nymphs of the palace whilst sporting naked in the water, was cured at this spot by the Sun, to whose service he in gratitude raised a temple. The present edifice it is well known was built by Raja Langora Narsinh Deo, A.D. 1241, under the superintendence of his minister Shibai Santra. I cannot discover any authority for the assertion of the author of the Ayin Acberi, that the entire revenue of twelve years was expended on the work, but doubtless the cost was very serious compared with the state of the Raja's treasury. The natives of the neighbouring villages have a strange fable to account for its desertion. They relate that Kumbha Pathar or loadstone, of immense size, was formerly lodged on the summit of the great tower, which had the effect of drawing ashore all vessels passing near the coast. The inconvenience of this was so much felt, that about two centuries since, in the Mogul time, the crew of a ship landed at a distance and stealing down the coast, attacked the temple, scaled the tower, and carried off the loadstone. The priests alarmed at this violation of the sanctity of the place, removed the image of the god with all his paraphernalia to Puri, where they have ever since remained, and from that date the temple became deserted and went rapidly to ruin. As above intimated, the origin of its dilapidation may obviously be ascribed either to an earthquake or to lightning, but many causes have concurred to accelerate the progress of destruction, when once a beginning had been made. To say nothing of the effects of weather on a deserted building, and of the vegetation that always takes root under such circumstances, it is clear that much injury has been done by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, in forcing out the iron clamps which held the stones together, for the sake of the metal; and it is well known that the officers of the Marhatta government actually beat down a part of the walls, to procure materials for building some insignificant temples at Puri.

Abulfazl's quaint, but lively and picturesque, description of the temple of the Sun, is of course familiar to those who have perused the Ayin Acberi with attention. Although however it affords a good general idea of the character of the building, it is strangely inaccurate in respect to measurements, no less than in the description of the emblems and ornaments which embellish it. Without noticing its several errors in detail, I shall first insert the description above alluded to, and then offer an account of the place as it appears to the visitor in the nineteenth century.

The author of the Ayin Acberi observes, (vide Gladwin's translation,) "Near to Jagannath is the temple of the sun, in the

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erecting of which, was expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years. No one can behold this immense edifice without being struck with amazement. The wall which surrounds the whole is one hundred and fifty cubits high and nineteen cubits thick. There are three entrances to it. At the eastern gate there are two very fine figures of elephants, each with a man upon his trunk. To the west are two surprizing figures of horsemen completely armed, and over the nothern gate are carved two lions who having killed two elephants, are sitting upon them. In the front of the gate is a pillar of black stone of an octagonal form fifty cubits high. There are nine flights of steps after ascending which, you come into an extensive enclosure where you discover a large *dome* constructed of stone upon which are carved the sun and stars and round them is a border where are represented a variety of human figures, expressing the different passions of the mind, some kneeling, others prostrated with their faces upon the earth, together with ministrels, and a number of strange and wonderful animals, such as never existed but in imagination. This is said to be a work of 730 years antiquity. Raja Nursingh Deo finished this building, thereby erecting for himself a lasting monument of fame. There are twenty-eight other temples belonging to this pagoda, six before the northern gate, and twenty-two without the enclosure, and they are all reported to have performed miracles."

The wall which formed the outer enclosure may have measured about 250 yards on a side; within this was a second enclosure having three entrances called the *Aswa* or horse, the *Hasti* or elephant, and the *Sinha* or Lion gate, from the colossal figures of those animals, which surmounted the several side posts. The horses and elephants on the north and south, have long since been precipitated from their bases, but the lions, or rather griffins, still retain the attitude and position assigned to them by Abulfazl, except that they are standing, instead of sitting, on the bodies of elephants, and have one paw lifted in the act of striking. Fronting the Sinh gate, stood the beautiful polygonal column, formed of a single shaft of black basalt, which now adorns the entrance of the Puri temple. It supported, at that time, the aprpopriate emblem of Aruna, the charioteer of the sun, which has since given place to Hanuman, and measures about thirty-three feet in height, instead of fifty cubits. The drawing (see elsewhere) will give a better idea, than the most elaborate description, of its chaste appearance and elegant proportions. Khambahs or columns of a similar description, though far inferior in point of style and execution, are frequently met with in front of the more ancient temples of Orissa. They are well known to the Hindu antiquary, under the name of "Jaya Stambhas or Pillars of Victory," though what their precise use or object is, has not been explained.

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From the eastern gate of the inner enclosure, a flight of ruined steps leads to the only tolerably perfect part of the building now remaining, called the Jagmohan, or Antichamber of the Sanctury. No one, certainly, can behold the massive beams of iron and the prodigious blocks of stone used in the construction of this edifice, without being struck with amazement. The ground plan is a square, measuring sixty feet on a side, or, if we take in the four projecting door-ways, it should rather be called a cross. The walls rise to a height of sixty feet, and have in some parts the unusual thickness of twenty feet. They support a noble and curiously constructed pyramidal roof, the stones composing which overhang each other, in the manner of inverted stairs, until they approach near enough towards the summit to support iron beams laid across, on which rests a prodigious mass of solid masonry, forming the headpiece or crowning ornament. The slope measures about seventy-two feet, and perpendicular height, sixty-three or sixty-four. The total altitude of the bulding, from the floor to the summit, is about one hundred feet or a little more. The outside of the roof is divided into three tiers of steps, formed by slabs projecting curiously from the body of the building, which are all bordered with a very fine pattern of elephants, birds, and various figures executed with considerable skill and spirit. Each of the terraces between the tiers, is decorated with statues, placed at intervals, nearly as large as life. On the two lower ones, are figures of nymphs and heavenly choristers, dancing and playing upon sundry instruments, but with countenances expressing very little passion or feeling of any kind. The third storey has the usual mythological animals, more nearly resembling lions than any thing else, which support on their shoulders the outer rim of the huge turban-shaped ornament on the top; besides these, there is a four-headed statue over each of the door-ways, the crowns and sceptres of which, mark them as intended to represent the majesty of Brahma.

Each face of the Jagmohan has a fine rectangular door-way, with a porch projecting considerably beyond and lined with superb slabs of the grey indurated chlorite, many of which measure fifteen feet high by a breadth of six or eight feet. The architrave of the door-way, as well as the roof of the passage leading to the interior, and an enormous mass of masonry resting upon it, are supported by nine iron beams, nearly a foot square by twelve or eighteen long, which are laid across the side ways in the most rude and inartificial manner. The whole fabric is held together by clamps of the same metal, and there is no appearance of any cement having been made use of.

If the style of the black Pagoda betrays, in the rude and clumsy expedients apparent in its construction, a primitive state of some of the arts, and a deficiency of architectural skill, at the

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period of its erection, one cannot but wonder at the ease with which the architects seem to have wielded and managed the cumbersome masses of iron and stone, used for the work, in an age when so little aid was to be derived from any mechanical inventions; and it must be allowed that there is an air of elegance, combined with massiveness, in the whole structure, which entitles it to no small share of admiration. There is much, however, about this remarkable building, which it is difficult either to describe or comprehend. The interior is filled, to a height of several feet, with large blocks of stone, which seem to have fallen from above, and what purpose they answered, in their former situation, is a matter of great doubt and discussion. Amongst the heap are to be seen, two iron beams, measuring twenty-one feet in length by about eight inches square, absolutely crushed beneath a superincumbent mass of stone, many of the blocks composing which, measure fifteen and sixteen feet in length, by about six feet of depth and two or three of thickness. It seems probable that they formed part of an inner or false roof, but neither is it easy to assign any precise place for such a ceiling, nor can one divine the motive or object of elevating such prodigious blocks of stone to a great height in the building, when lighter materials would have been so much better adapted to the work.

The exterior of the side walls, as of the roof, is loaded with a profusion of the richest sculptured ornaments. A remarkably handsome cornice or border occupies the upper part, all round, for a depth of several feet. Below this, the surface is divided by another fine cornice, into two tiers of compartments, parted off into niches by clusters of pilasters, in each of which are placed figures of men and animals, resting on pedestals with a sort of canopy overhead. The human figures are generally male and female, in the most lewd and obscene attitudes, frequently in the very act of sexual intercourse. Amongst the animals, the commonest representation is that of a lion rampant, treading on an elephant or a prostrate human figure. Generally speaking, the style and execution of the larger figures, are rude and coarse, whilst the smaller ones display often much beauty and grace, but it should be observed that the whole have suffered materailly, from the corrosion or decomposition of the stone, of which the building is chiefly composed, viz. the coarse red granite of the province, which is singularly liable to decay, from exposure to the weather.

The skill and labor of the best artists, seem to have been reserved for the finely polished slabs of chlorite, which line and decorate the outer faces of the door-ways. The whole of the sculpture on these figures, comprizing men and animals, foliage, and arabesque patterns, is executed with a degree of taste, propriety, and freedom, which would stand a comparison with

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some of our best specimens of Gothic architectural ornament. The workmanship remains, too, as perfect, as if it had just come from under the chissel of the sculptor, owing to the extreme hardness and durability of the stone. A triangular niche, over each door-way, was once filled with a figure cut in alto relievo, emblematic of the deity of the place, being that of a youth in a sitting posture, holding in each hand a stalk of the true Lotus or Nelumbium speciosum, the expanded flowers of which are turned towards him. Each architrave has, as usual, the Nava Graha or nine brahminical planets, very finely sculptured in alto relievo. Five of them are well proportioned figures of men, with mild and pleasing countenances, crowned with high pointed caps and seated cross-legged on the Padma (Nelumbium speciosum), engaged in religious meditation—one hand bears a vessel of water, and the figures of the other are counting over the beads of a rosary, which hangs suspended. The form of the planet which presides over Thursday, (Vrihaspati or Jupiter,) is distinguished from the others by a flowing majestic beard. Friday, or Venus, is a youthful female, with a plump well rounded figure. Ketu, the descending node, is a triton whose body ends in the tail of a fish or dragon ; and Rahu, or the ascending node, a monster, all head and shoulders, with a grinning grotesque countenance, frizly hair dressed like a full blown wig, and one immense canine tooth projecting from the upper jaw ; in one hand he holds a hatchet, and in the other a fragment of the moon. These are doubtless the "sun and stars" mentioned by the author of the Ayin Acberi. Why they occupy, so uniformly, a position over the door-way of every temple in Orissa sacred to whatever deity, I have never been able to learn.[29]

The walls of the interior are, as usual with Hindu temples, entirely plain and devoid of ornament, but each of the projecting steps in the square pyramidal roof, has been curiously rounded, and formed into a sort of cornice, which gives a slight finish to that part of the building.

From the fragment remaining of the great tower, it would seem to have been covered with rich and varied sculptured ornament, in the style of the Bhubaneswer temple. Like all edifices of the kind, too, it had evidently an inner false roof, of pyramidal shape, formed of the inverted stairs used by the old architects of the province, as a substitute for the arch.

The Birjai or Parbati khetr, comprizes the country which stretches for five cos around the village of Jajipur[30] (Yajyapura) on the banks of the Bytarini, as a centre. The sanctity of the place is, as usual, founded on a variety of fanciful notions and wild traditions, which it would be tedious to detail at any length.

[29] The Navgraha figures are meant for scaring away the malignant spirits from the temple.

[30] Jajpur.

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In the first place, its name, the "City of Sacrifice," is derived from the circumstance of Brahma having performed here, in ancient days, the great sacrifice called the Das Aswamed'h, at the ghat so called, to which all the gods and goddesses were invited. Amongst others, Gangaji was prevailed on to attend, and has since flowed through the district in the sacred form of the Bytarini, which, descending to the infernal regions by an opening near Jajipur, becomes there the Styx of the Hindu Tartarus. At this same sacrifice, a particularly holy form of Durga, or Parvati, sprung up from the altar on which the burnt-offering was laid, and adopted the title of Birja,[31] whence the name of the khetr; from her, again, issued the eight Chandis, or representatives of the Sacti of Mahadeva; and their appearance was followed by that of the eight Sambhus, or lords of the Linga, who with their dependent lingas amounting in all to no less than a crore, are stationed at different points, over the whole khetr, to guard it from the intrusion of Asurs, Rakshases, and other malignant demons. The titles of the female energies above noticed are Koth Vasini, Siddheswari, Nibakhi, Uttareswari, Bhagavati, Kotavi, and Bhimaki; those of the males Trilochana, Someswara, Trilokeswara, Pranaveswara, Isaneswara, Akandeswara, Agniswara, and Siddhiswara, which the learned reader may compare with the epithets of the same divinities who protect and sanctify the Bishen Khetr.[32]

Besides the aforementioned claims to veneration, Jajipur is further esteemed, from its being supposed to rest on the navel of the tremendous giant or demon, called the Gaya Asur, who was overthrown by Vishnu. Such was his bulk, that, when stretched on the ground, his head rested at Gaya, his navel (nabhi) at this place, and his feet at a spot near Rajamendri. There is a very sacred well or pit within the enclosure of one of the Jajipur temples, called the Gaya Nabhi or Bamphi, which is fabled to reach to the navel of the monster, and into it the Hindu pilgrims throw the *Pinda*, or cake of rice and sweetmeats, which is offered, at particular conjunctions, as an expiation for the sins of their ancestors. The priests and inhabitants of Jajipur insist, that in 1821, a sudden rise of water took place in the well, which forced up the accumulated mass of sour rice cakes that had been there fermenting for months or years, and deluged the whole area of the temple with the filth. The occurrence was regarded both as a miracle, and as the forerunner of some great calamity.

The numerous stone temples on both sides of the Bytarini, executed mostly in a very respectable style of architecture, bespeak the ancient importance of the place; and history informs

[31] Viraja.

[32] Vishnu Kshetra—Puri.

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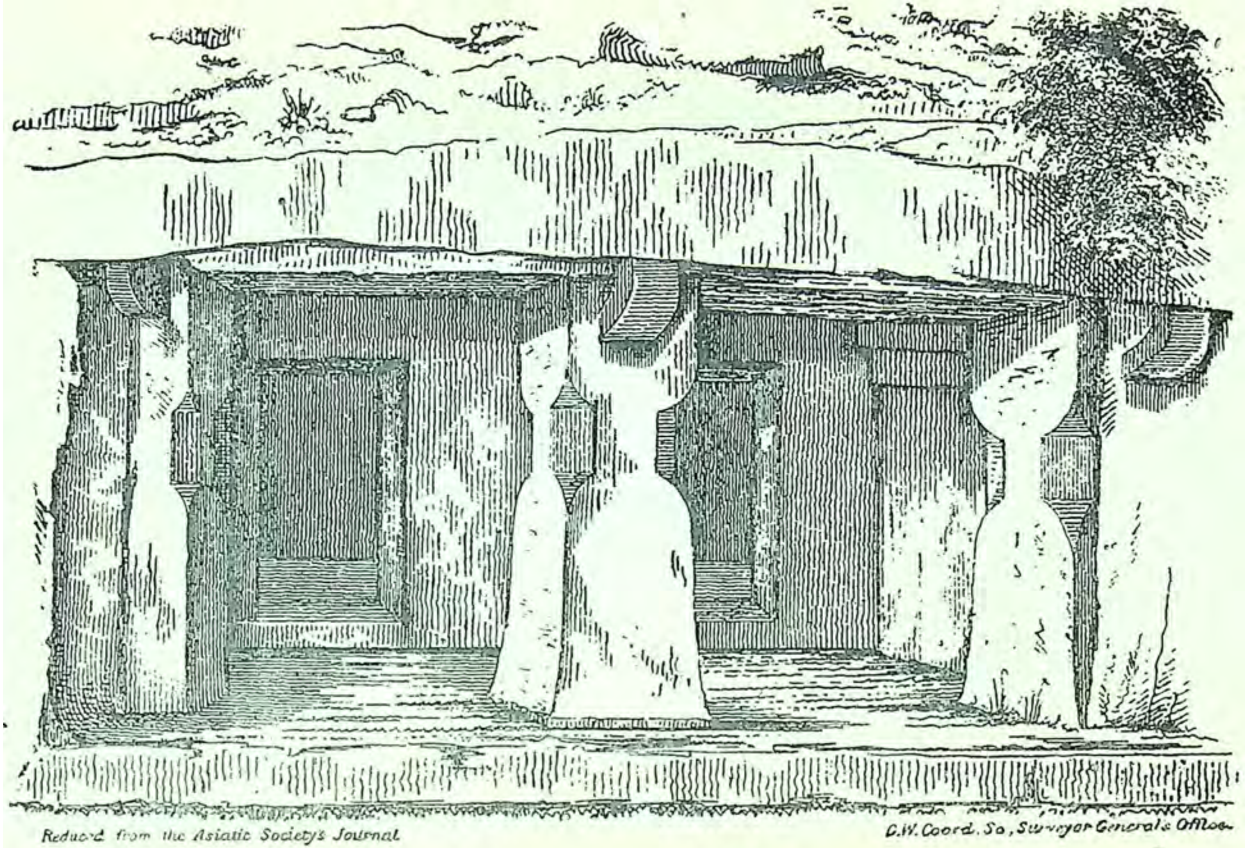

TWO CELLED BUDDHIST CAVE

(Circa 250 B C.)

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us that it was formerly one of the capitals of the Orissan monarchy. The Rajas of the Kesari dynasty held here their Court occasionally, as well as those of the Ganga Vansa line, and the remains of their *Nour*, or palace, at present an undefinable heap of ruin, are still shewn.[33] The Musselman writers seem sometimes to mention Jajipur as a separate principality, in the time of the Ganga Bans Rajas, but I can discover no ground whatever for such a territorial division. Mehammed Taki Khan, the Deputy of Shujaa Khan Nazir of Bengal, held his Court at Jajipur, and built a fine palace and mosque on the banks of the Bytarini, early in the 18th century, out of the materials of some dilapidated Hindu temple, the sculptured ornaments of which may be still observed in many parts of the walls. His palace, again, has been in great part destroyed by the officers of present government, to obtain materials for the construction of public works in the neighbourhood.

The environs of Jajipur, present much to interest the curious, in its temples, khambas or columns in various styles, and fine remains of statuary. On one of the pillars, an inscription has been discovered, which is said to be of the same character exactly as that on the brow of the Khandigiri cavern of Khurda. The most eminently curious objects of the place however, are, the images of certain Hindu goddesses, carved in stone, which I shall now more particularly describe.

At the back of a high terrace supporting the cenotaph of Syyed Bokhari, a Musselman saint, three colossal statues of the Hindu divinities, are shown. They lie with their heels uppermost, on a heap of rubbish, in precisely the same position apparently that they assumed, when tumbled from their thrones above, by the Musselman conquerors of the province, who destroyed a celebrated temple at the spot, and further desecrated it, by erecting on its ruins, a shrine and mosque of their own worship. The images are cut in alto relievo, out of enormous blocks of the indurated Mugni, or chlorite slate rock, and measure about ten feet in length. They represent Kali, Varahi the female energy of Vishnu, in the Varaha or Boar Avatar, and Indrani the lady of Indra,[34] and though the subjects are grotesque, the execution is distinguished by a degree of freedom, skill and propriety, quite unusual in the works of Hindu sculptors. The first is a disgusting, but faithful, representation of a ghastly figure, nearly a skeleton, with many of the muscles and arteries exposed to view, invested with the distinguishing marks and attributes of the goddess Kali. She is seated on a car, or vahana, supported by a kneeling diminutive figure of Mahadeva. The second has a boar's head, and a huge pot belly, like that of

[33] Jajpur named as Guhadeva or Guhesvara Pataka was the Capital town of the Kings belonging to the Bhaumakara dynasty.

[34] She symbolised the energy of Indra.

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Ganesa, and rests on a buffalo. The third is a well porportioned female figure, seated on an elephant, the animal consecrated by the Hindu Mythology to Indra, the lord of the Deotas.

On the banks of the river, one meets with a sort of raised gallery, filled with mythological sculptures, amongst which, seven large colossal figures of the female divinities called the Matris, are particularly remarkable. They are said to have been recovered, lately, out of the sand of the river—where they were tossed by the Moguls on their shrines being destroyed—by a mahajan of Cuttack, who built the edifice in which they are now deposited. They differ little in style and dimensions, from those above described, but appear to be cut out of blocks of basalt, or greenstone, instead of chlorite shist. They are styled respectively Kali, Indrani, Caumari, Rudrani, Varahini, Vaishnavi, and Yama Matri. The figure of Kali is sculptured in a very spirited manner; she is represented with an axe in one hand, and a cup full of blood in the other, dancing in an infuriated attitude, after the destruction of the giant Rakta Vija, and trampling unconsciously on her husband Mahadeo, who, as the fable runs, had thrown himself at her feet, to solicit her to desist from those violent movements, which were shaking the whole world. That of Jam Matri, the "mother of Yama," is also a very striking and remarkable piece of sculpture. Her form is that of a hideous decrepid old woman, seated on a pedestal, quite naked, with a countenance alike expressive of extreme age, and that sourness of disposition which has rendered her proverbial as a scold. There are likewise fine representations in this mythological gallery, of the Narasinha Avatar, and the Giant Ravana, with his hundred heads and arms.

Under the head of Civil Architecture I shall, in conclusion mention the Bridges of Orissa, which are certainly the most creditable, though not the most magnificent, monuments remaining of its indigenous princes.[35] Many of these works are to be found in different parts of the province, still in excellent state of preservation. The principal bridges which I have seen, are, that between Simleah and Soro, of fourteen nalehs or channels: the Athraeh or eighteen naleh bridge, at Puri; the Char naleh, in the same neighbourhood; the bridge at Delang, and another over the Dya, between Khurda and Pipley. They are generally termed indifferently by foreigners, Mogul and Marhatta bridges, but the latter race during their unsettled and disturbed government in Cuttack, certainly never constructed works of so useful and durable a character; and besides the fact that the history of some of the principal ones is well known, it is quite obvious from a consideration of their style and architectural ornaments,

[35] J. Grant in his Historical Analysis calls them, without any justification the "wretched edifices of rustic bridges."

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that they are of pure Hindu origin, and belong to an age ignorant of the use of the arch. A short description of the Athareh naleh bridge at Puri, will serve, to illustrate sufficiently this part of the subject. It was built of a ferruginous colored stone, probably the iron clay, early in the fourteenth century, by Raja Kabir Narsinh Deo,[36] the successor of Langora Narsinh Deo who completed the black Pagoda. The Hindus, being ignorant how to turn an arch, substituted in lieu of it the method, often adverted to above, of laying horizontal tiers of stones on the piers, the one projecting slightly beyond the other in the manner of inverted stairs, until they approach near enough at top, to sustain a key stone or cross beam ; a feature so remarkable in Hindu architecture, that it seems strange it should not have been hitherto particularly noticed, in any description of the antiquities of the country. The bridge has eighteen nalehs or passages for the water, each roofed in the way described. Its total length is 290 feet, and height of the central passage eighteen feet, and its breadth fourteen ditto ; of the smallest ones, at each extremity, thirteen and seven respectively ; and the thickness of the piers, which have been judiciously rounded on the side opposed to the current, eight and six feet ; the height of the parapet, which is a modern addition, is six feet.

Of the other native buildings of the province little need be said. The stone rivetment at Cuttack, a work of magnitude and indispensible utility, is probably of Mogul origin, built in imitaton of a more ancient one, the remains of which are still to be seen.[37] Fort Barabati has been described in speaking of the modern capital. The ruins extant of the old palaces of the Rajas, at Cuttack, Choudwar, Jajpur, and Bhubaneswer, are mere shapless masses of stone and mounds of earth, which it would be fruitless to attempt any detailed account of. The ancient fortress of Sarengerh, on he south bank of the Kajuri, opposite to Cuttack, is remarkable for the great distance to which its works be traced, but no portion of it remains habitable, and a modern killah, of the Musselman time, occupies the site of the citadel and palace of the first of the Ganga Vansa Rajas.

[36] Narasimhadeva II the grand son of the famous Langula Narasimhadeva I.

[37] According to *Madala Panji* the stone revetment was constructed by one Markata Kesari. It was probably the work of Anangabhimadeva III, who laid the foundation of Bidanasi Kataka.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE HISTORY OF ORISSA UNDER THE MAHOMMEDAN, MARATHA AND ENGLISH RULE

By John Beames

[These notes were written as Chapter II of a manual of the district of Balasore, of which I was Collector from 1869 to 1873. The work when completed was laid before Sir R. Temple (then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) in 1875; but for certain reasons which cannot be here stated, was not printed. In 1877 I was asked by Blochmann, then Secretary to the Society,[1] to allow him to print the historical portion in the Society's Journal. I was unable to comply with his request at that time, and the work was put aside. Recently being engaged in some researches regard-the history of my present official charge, the Burdwan Division, I have had occasion to refer to it, and as I do not know of any compilation which gives all the facts therein contained, I have thought that it may be useful to print it.]

There is some reason for believing that for many centuries the country between the Kansbans and the Subanrekha was totally uninhabited, and covered with jungle. The legends of the Oriya race render it probable that they came into the province through the hills and down the Mahanadi, and the characteristics of their language lead me to believe that they broke off from the main stream of Aryan immigration somewhere about Shahabad and Gya.[2] That they are not an offshoot of the Bengalis is proved by the fact that their language was already formed as we now have it, at a period when Bengali had not yet attained a separate existence, and when the deltaic portion of Bengal was still almost uninhabited. So that in fact they could not have sprung from the Bengalis, simply because there were then no Bengalis to spring from.[3]

Numerous as are the allusions in early Oriya history to the north-western and western parts of India, and frequent as were their expeditions to the south, it is remarkable that there is nowhere in all their annals more than an obscure occasional mention of Bengal, and then even as a far-off inaccessible place. The similarity between the languages is not by any means so great as some Bengali writers have sought to make out, and

[1] Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[2] Gaya.

[3] Beames wrote this chapter at a time when a vigorous movement led by Raja Rajendralala Mitra and others was going on for substituting Oriya language by Bengali in Orissa. Beames being a great advocate of Oriya language was strongly against this movement.

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what similarity there is, is due to the fact that they are both dialects of the eastern or Magadhi form of Prakrit.[4]

The ancient sovereigns of Orissa were great builders and employed stone in their works. As the province is not deltaic, but high and rocky, these stone buildings would last for ages, and in fact central and southern Orissa are full of them. Now it is a remarkable fact that in all northern Balasore from the Kansbans to the frontier of Bengal there is not a vestige of a single fort, temple, palace or bridge that can be traced or attributed to any older period that the sixteenth century. It is hardly possible that if this part of the country had been inhabited, the kings and rich men who so lavishly spent their wealth in the rest of the province on temples and forts, should not have erected a single stone building in a place where stone abounds.

An additional argument for my view is derived from the existence of numerous tenures of a kind originally granted for the purpose of clearing and settling forest land. These tenures, so numerous in northern Balasore, are hardly known south of the Kansbans except in the hills.

I may also point to the very large number of villages whose names begin with the word "Ban" = forest, including according to one derivation Balasore itself (*i.e.*, Baneshwara, forest-lord,[5] Sanskrit Vaneswara) and to the very marked prevalence of the Kole or aboriginal type among the lower classes.

Stirling's account of Orissa has been long in print, and is so well known, that it would be superfluous to repeat what is there said about the various dynasties of Orissa. It will have struck many readers of that work that often as the towns and regions of the Cuttack and Pooree districts are mentioned in the historical portion, Balasore is hardly ever spoken of. One would not of course expect to find it mentioned under the name of Balasore, because Balasore as a town is a creation of the English and quite a modern place, but no other towns, villages, or parganas in this part of the province are ever mentioned. Till the arrival of the Musalmans, no event in Oriya history took place there, nor is there any evidence of its having been more than scantily peopled, if at all.

It will not therefore take long to put together the scattered notices that exist during the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. From the people themselves not much can be got, the best informed of them cannot, with few exceptions, go back further

[4] Scholars like Oldenberg believe that Pali, not Magadhi Prakrit, was the language of ancient Kalinga.

[5] Beames says:

"The little village of Balasore which afterwards, under English influence, grew into the present town, is called from a temple to Mahadeva Vaneshwara or "Shiva the forest lord," probably because the place where his temple stood was covered by dense jungles." This derivation is doubtful and seems arbitrary.

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than the sanads granted to their ancestors by the provincial governors under Aurangzeb[6] or at furthest Shah Jehan, and the majority do not as a rule know who their own great-grandfathers were, and do not care.

The first of the few notices of any part of this district occurs[7] in a speech made by Raja Anang Bhim Deo who ruled in Orissa A.D. 1175—1202, in which he informs his courtiers that the kings who had preceded him had ruled from the Kansbans in the north to the Rasikoilah in the south, but that he had extended his sway to the Datai Borhi river on the north. I cannot find what river is meant, but I presume it to be the Subanrekha, which in some parts of its course is still called Dantai. The statement that the whole country from the Ganges to the Godavery was under this king's rule is clearly fabulous, and arises from the fact that the Godavery is called by Oriyas the "San Ganga" or little Ganges, so that it became a natural phrase in native adulatory language to say a king reigned from the great to the little Ganges. The area of this tract is said to have been measured at 124 million bighas, which is unintelligible, even with the small bighas of those days.[8]

In 1450 we are briefly told that the Mughals came into the country, but it is not said from what quarter, and a prior invasion in 1243 is evidently a mistake.[9] The expedition was really to Jajnagar in Bengal, a place whose name has been confounded with Jajpore in Orissa. In 1457 we find the Muhammadans attacking Orissa from the south in conjunition with the Telingas, and the invasion of 1450 was probably from the same quarter.[10] The Bhuyans of Garpadda, 15 miles north of Balasore, have in their possession a copper plate grant of the

[6] Beames probably has in his mind the case of the Bhuyan family of Garhpada in Balasore district, whose anscestor Sarvesvar Bhatta restored his estate from confiscation by Raja Damodar Bhanj of Mayurbhanj with the favour of Aurangzeb. Sarvesvar Bhatta is the 8th in descent from Potesvara Bhatta who got the estate from Gajapati Purushottam Deva (1467-1497 A.D.).

[7] See Stirling's *Orissa*: Vide Chapters VI and VII of this book.

[8] Bigha is almost same as an acre, but it varies in different localities.

[9] See Blochmann JASB vol. xiii, p. 237.
There was no Mughal invasion on Orissa in 1450 A.D. The first Muslim inroad upon Orissa took place as early as 1205 A.D. when the Sheran brothers sent by Bakhtiyar Khalji invaded Jajnagar (Orissa). In 1234 A.D. Sultan Izzuddin Tughral Tughan Khan of Bengal invaded Orissa but was crushingly defeated by Narasimhadeva I "the Rai of Jajnagar." In 1246 A.D. when Ikhtiyar Uddin Yuzbak was made the ruler of Bengal by Sultan Balban, the Muslims again invaded Orissa, but were successfully repulsed.

[10] Beames very likely refers to the wars of Kapilendradeva (1435-1466) with the Sultan of Bahmani in the South. But he confounds it as a Muslim invasion of Orissa, while, in fact, it was Orissan invasion upon the Muslim State.

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estate which they still hold, made to their ancestor Potesar Bhatt by the Raja Pursottam Deb in 1503.[11] The amount of land granted, 1,408 batis (=28,160 acres), is so large that it is evident land was not of much value in northern Orissa in those days.

The road to Orissa must, however, have been practicable in 1516, for in that year, as we know from his life in Bengali, the great reformer Chaitanya travelled from Nadiya to Puri and took up his abode there for the rest of his days. Probably the district began to be cleared and settled about this time under the "Purshethi" system. Still we have no detailed accounts of it. About this time the Afghans from Bengal, however, marched right down to Cuttack itself, and the road which they made or used on this and their subsequent expeditions is still to be traced, and is known to the villagers as the "Pathan sarak." It runs parallel to the present Cuttack Trunk Road but nearer to the hills, and apparently from superstitious motives is left uncultivated to this day.

In 1550[12] Mukund Deo the last indigenous king of Orissa ascended the throne, and we are told of him that his sway extended to Tribeni Ghat on the Hugli. He it was in all probability who erected the strong chain of forts still standing at Raibanian in the extreme northern corner of the district, just opposite the place where the old Pathan road crosses the Subanrekha. In 1568 this fort was taken by the terrible Kala Pahar, general of the Afghan forces who overran all Orissa, defeated and deposed Mukund and obtained possession of the whole province.[13]

[11] The exact date of the gift cannot be ascertained as the Anka year written in the inscription is yet to be properly deciphered. Kielhorn concludes that the grant was made on the 7th April, 1483 "when there was an invisible eclipse of the Sun." (Indian Antiquary vol. xxiii, p. 108).

[12] In 1559 A.D.

[13] There is some controversy about this date. W. W. Hunter (Orissa, Vol. II, p. 10). gives a note founded on materials supplied by Blochmann, from which he derives the conclusion that the date 1568 given by the Muhammadan historian is correct. This view has received signal confirmation from a discovery of Beames. At Srijanga, a village ten miles south of Balasore, he found on the edge of a large tank called the "Achyuta Sagar" an upright stone covered with an inscription. This stone he removed and set up in the compound of his house at Balasore, where it now is. The inscription, as partly decyphered by him and several Pandits, yields the following results: The tank was dug by a Khandait who describes himself as "Achyut Baliar Singh son of Daitari Biswal, sole ruler in this region"; and he says he erected it when Man Singh, general of Akbar Padshah was in Orissa, in the 4699th year of the Kali Yug, in the 1520th year of the Saka era, in the 30th year of the "Yavan bhog" or Musalman invasion, and in the 37th *anka* or year of the reign of Ram Chandra Dev, first Sudra king of Orissa. Now both the Yug and the Saka years agree in corresponding with A.D. 1598. Consequently if 1598 be the 30th year of Musalman invasion, the first year of that period must be 1568 as Abul Fazl reckons, and not 1558 as Stirling.

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Balasore now begins to be more important. The road to Bengal was open and the Muhammadan forces passed and re-passed and fought many battles along it.

Before entering into the somewhat interesting details of the Musalman invasion, settlement and government of Orissa, it will be advisable to state briefly the general position of India.

Akbar ascended the throne in A.D. 1556, and though very young, soon commenced to consolidate his power. But in all parts of India there were Hindu Rajas who had either themselves wielded independent power, or whose immediate ancestors had done so. There were also numerous bands of Mughals and Afghans who, during the unsettled reigns of Akbar's predecessors, had penetrated into various distant parts of India in search of plunder, or with a view to carving out principalities for themselves by the sword. All these classes were only with extreme difficulty and after, repeated chastisements reduced to obedience, and the history of Akbar's reign is chiefly occupied, as are those of his son and grandson, with the accounts of expeditions directed against refractory vassals.

Of the latter kind were the Afghan adventurers who so long held Orissa. In 1567 Sulayman Shah Kirani[14] was viceroy of Bengal; he was in fact king in all but name. He it was who sent Kala Pahar into Orissa; the accounts of the histories differ widely as to the date as well as the progress of this invasion. From local legends it would appear that Mukund Deo, after vainly endeavouring to hold the fort of Raibanian, retreated southwards fighting as he went, and was killed at Jajpur. As Kala Pahar was an ultra-fanatical Musalman, in the estimation of himself and his followers any one of them who was slain in battle with the Hindus was entitled to be considered a martyr. Accordingly we find there must have been a battle at Garhpada, for there lies buried one of Kala Pahar's officers with the title of Shahid or "martyr." His name was Hitam Khan, and a grant of rentfree land of 138 bighas is enjoyed by the Garhpada Bhuyans on condition of keeping up his shrine. At Bastah lies another, Shah Husayni Shahid, at Ramchandrapur south of Garhpada is a third Muhammad Khan Shahid, and at Remnah a fourth Gulab Shah Shahid, from whom also the large bazar of Shahji Patna takes its name. We can thus trace Kala Pahar all through

following the Oriya annalists, puts it. The 37th *anka* would be the 28th year of Ram Chandra's reign, because in reckoning the *anka*, the first two years and every year that has a 6 or a 0 in it are omitted, we must thus omit the years 1, 2, 6, 10, 16, 20, 26 and 30. This takes us back to 1570 as the year of Ram Chandra's accession, which leaves 1569 to represent the period of anarchy when there was no king, according to the native annalists. This discovery of the Srijanga stone is thus valuable as elucidating a disputed date in history.

[14] Sulaiman Khan Kararani.

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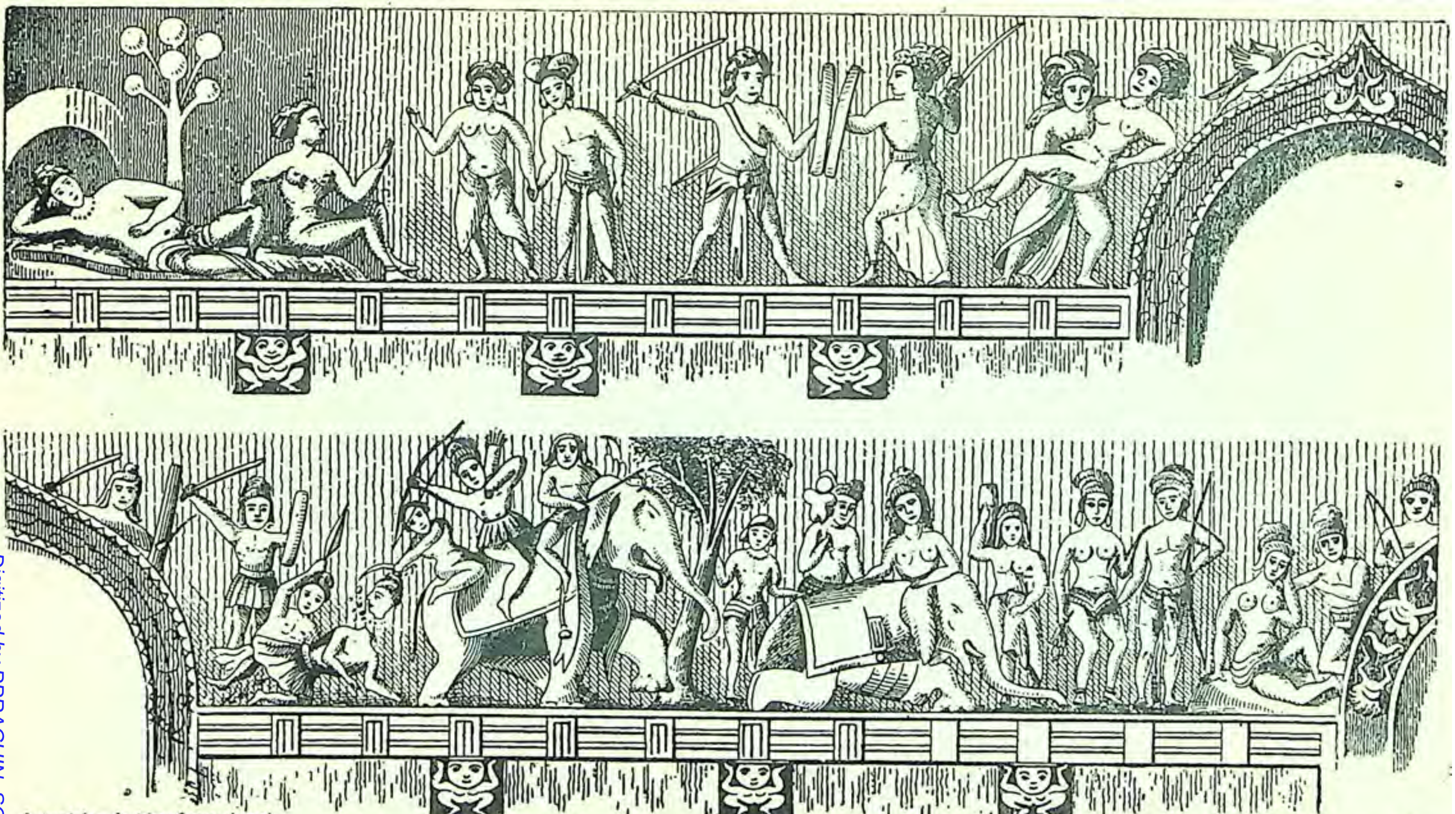

Reduced from the Asiatic Society's Journal.

C.W. Cox L. Sc. Surveyor Generals Office.

THE ORISSA HELEN.

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the district by the tombs of his slain Captains.[15] He left a number of his turbulent followers in Orissa and returned to Bengal where he was killed in battle.[16] A great number of these lawless adventurers settled at Kasba, a suburb of Balasore, and at Bhadrakh and Dhamnagar, where their descendants are still to be found.

In 1574 Daud Khan, the king of Bengal, being driven out of that province by the forces of the Emperor Akbar under Munim Khan, fled to Orissa and remained hovering backwards and forwards between Cuttack and Jellasore for some time. At last Munim Khan with a large force, accompanied by the celebrated Raja Todar Mal marched down through Midnapore on him. The armies met on the north bank of the Subanrekha near the village of Tukaroi and the battle took place on the 3rd March 1575.[17] Munim Khan was victorious and Daud fled to Bhadrakh. The place where the battle was fought is well known to the villagers and is still called Mughalmari (the Mughal's slaughter). It runs westward for some six miles from the present Jellasore dak bungalow towards the river. Todar Mal pursued Daud to Bhadrahk, but Daud did not wait to be caught. He fled to Cuttack and got into the fort there and garrisoned it strongly. The Imperial forces, however, attacked and took it, and Daud then submitted to the Emperor. Munim Khan returned to Bengal, where he and many of his officers died of fever said to have been contracted in Orissa, but more probably due to their own imprudence in taking up their residence in the pestilential jungles of Gaur.

After the submission of Daud he was left in possession of central Orissa as far north as the Baitarani, but the territory now comprised in the Balasore district was annexed to the Subah of Bengal,[18] and two Thanadars were appointed, one at Jellasore, the other at Bhadrakh. Balasore itself was not a place of importance in those days. After the death of Munim Khan the reins of authority became relaxed, and Daud came up into Balasore and marched into Bengal. The Afghans of Orissa

[15] At Kaipadar in Puri district is found the tomb of Bokhari Sahib (Sayyed Ali Bukhari), the famous commander of Kala Pahar. He was killed during the siege of the Barabati.

[16] Kala Pahar was killed in 1583 in the battle between Khan-i-Azam Akbar's general and Masum Khan Kabuli (Beveridge: Akbarnama vol. iii, p. 592).

[17] See Blochmann, *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 375.

[18] In the Ain Akbari it is indeed asserted that the whole of Orissa was on this occasion subjugated and added to the Subah of Bengal. It is described as divided into Sirkars like other Subahs. Sirkar Jalesar (Jellasore) includes the greater part of the present district of Midnapore. The other Sirkars are Bhadrak, Katak (Cuttack), Kalinga Dandpat, and Raj Mahindrah (Rajamundry), but no details are given of the two last, and it is well known that they were not subject to the Empire. (*Ain Akbari* by Blochmann, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 209).

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were for many years in a characteristically Afghan state of riot and quarrelling, and Balasore, lying as it does between Cuttack and the Bengal frontier, was often the battle-field between the rulers of the two provinces. None of the battles were, however, very decisive, nor are there any traces of the battle-fields still remaining, though many villages and market places with Musalman names in various parts of the district testify to the settlement of Afghan and Mughal invaders.

In 1582 Kutlu Khan, the Afghan leader, who since Daud's death[19] had been the virtual ruler of Orissa, marched through Balasore against the Subahdar of Bengal, and advanced as far as Burdwan, where in 1583 he was defeated by Sadik Khan. At that time the sway of the Afghans of Orissa extended with a few exceptions as far as the Rupnarayan river, but after this victory they were beaten back, and retreated to Cuttack, leaving Balasore as far as the Baitarani river for a time unmolested.

Kutlu Khan died in 1590, and his sons being minors sued for peace and agreed to surrender the temple of Jaganath and the sacred domain or "khetra" to the Emperor. The Governor of Bengal at this time was Raja Man Singh, who as a Hindu was highly pleased at rescuing the holy city from the hands of the infidels who had long exercised a cruel and tyrannous sway over the priests.

Two years later, however, the treacherous Afghans again seized Jagannath and this roused Man Singh's wrath, and in a great battle fought in 1592 on the northern bank of the Subanrekha, probably on the same site as Munim Khan's victory at Tukaroi or Mughalmari, he utterly crushed the Afghans and took possession once more of Orissa. The rebels were turned out of Jellasore and fled to Cuttack where they shut themselves up in the strong fort of Sarang Garh, three miles south of the city. Man Singh soon after besieged and took Sarang Garh, and received the submission of the Afghans.

Sultan Khusrau, grandson of Akbar and son of Jahangir was named Viceroy of Orissa, but he never visited the province, his appointment being probably merely honorary.

Man Singh having gone to Agra to pay his respects to the Emperor, the Afghans under 'Usman Khan again rose in 1598 and collected a large force at Bhadrakh, where they defeated the Imperial troops under Maha Singh, occupied a great portion of western Bengal, and again obtained possession of Balasore as far as the Subanrekha. Man Singh, however, again returned and defeated 'Usman at Sherpur 'Atai north of Burdwan. 'Usman as usual retired to Cuttack, where he was not pursued. In all these constant advances and retreats, the Afghans seem always to have regarded Bhadrakh as their frontier. Jellasore

[19] Daud was killed in the battle of Rajmahal in 1576.

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was the frontier of the Imperialists, and the intermediate country was a debatable ground over which both parties fought at their pleasure. I mention this fact as confirming what I have said on a previous page, that central and northern Balasore even down to so late a period as this, contained no towns of importance but was scantily peopled and not worth fighting for.

For eleven years 'Usman Khan ruled at Cuttack, but does not seem to have exercised much sway over Balasore, as he never during that time came into collision with the Imperial garrison at Jellasore, which he could not have failed to have done had he venturd so far north. In 1611, however, he appears to have begun aggressions once more, and encamped on the banks of the Subarnrekha again with an army of 20,000 horse and defied the Emperor's forces. After a fierce encounter which from the accounts given by the native historians appears to have taken place among the marshes near Rajghat on the southern side of the river, 'Usman was shot in the head and died. His troops fled in disorder and Shujaat Khan, the leader of the Mughals, entered the province as a conqueror and annexed it finally to the Empire.

Orissa now enjoyed peace for five years under the able government of Ibrahim Khan, and it is from this epoch that we date the rise of Balasore as a commercial town. The district produces rice in abundance, and when the Afghans ceased to desolate it, it rapidly recovered and began to export. The weavers of Balasore whose cloths were long so celebrated now begin to be heard of, and it was not many years later than this date that the English established themselves as traders in the district.

In 1621 Prince Khurram son of the Emperor Jehangir (subsequently Emperor under the title of Shah Jahan) invaded Orissa through the hills, turned out Ahmad Beg, the governor of the province, and after appointing Kuli Khan in his place pushed on through Balasore into Bengal. He does not seem to have staved long in Orissa, though his rebellion lasted a long time in Bengal and Bihar. Orissa does not appear to have suffered in any way from the change of governors, nor is there anything further to be gleaned from the Persian historians save a string of successive governors. We learn incidentally that the cultivation of the soil was increasing and was further promoted by the grant of many military jagirs to old soldiers of the Empire. One of these jagirs was established at Dhamnagar where the descendants of the original grantees still live, and a populous Musalman colony has sprung up. It was during this period as will be seen hereafter that the English obtained from the Emperor Shah Jahan a firman empowering them to open factories at Pipli and Balasore.

In the time of Mir Taki Khan, who was Naib of Shuja-

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uddin, Nawab of Bengal, all that part of the Sirkar of Jellasore lying north of the Subanrekha was transferred to Bengal, thus making that river the northern boundary of Orissa. It is much to be wished that this well defined boundary had been adhered to ever since. Taki Khan ruled Orissa from 1725 to 1734. He was a bigotted Musalman, and in his time the Raja of Khurda found or affected to find it necessary to carry off the idol of Jaganath to the hills beyond the Chilka. All pilgrimage was in consequence put a stop to, and the revenues of the province greatly injured. Taki Khan lies buried in the Kadam Rasul at Cuttack, but the local traditions of Balasore represent him as having spent much of his time in that town. He built the masonry tank, and reservoir and the mosque and gardens known as the Kadam Rasul in Balasore.[20] He is also said to have had a hunting palace at Remna five miles from Balasore under the Nilgiri Hills, a place still abounding with game, and whose name (Sanskrit Ramana=a place of sport, or hunting-ground) supports the legend. There are still at Remna extensive ruins of Muhammadan tombs and buildings. Taki Khan is well remembered in Balasore, and his character for piety stands high. A curious legend is current that the Vaishnava, Nandha Gosain, whose temple is in Malikaspur a suburb of the town, was in the habit of making a great noise with drums and cymbals while celebrating his kirtans or religious ceremonies. The Nawab's devotions being disturbed by this noise, he ordered it to be stopped. That evening when the naubat, or beating of drums at sunset was about to take place, none of the drums would sound, and this state of things continued till the Nawab withdrew his prohibition from Nandha Gosain, when the drums again sounded as usual.

In 1734 Murshid Kuli Khan was appointed governor of Orissa. and with him came as his Dewan the infamous Mir Habib who afterwards betrayed the province to the Marathas. The first thing Murshid did was to induce the Brahmans to bring back to Puri the idol of Jagannath which had been carried off for safety to the hills across the Chilka. By this step the revenues of the province were at once immensely increased, as the stream of pilgrims, which had for some time ceased owing to the disappearance of the object of their worship, now set in again, and the tax on them is said to have risen from a nominal sum to nine lakhs per annum. In 1740 Ali Vardi Khan became Governor of Bengal and made himself virtually independant of the Emperor, whose power had been much shaken by the invasion of Nadir Shah and the sack of Delhi. The Governor of Orissa refused to obey Ali Vardi, and the latter marched against him.

[20] Probably so named in imitation of that in Cuttack, which derives its name "footstep of the Prophet" from being supposed to contain some relics of Muhammad brought from Mecca.

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The two armies met at Balasore and the native account is so precise that I am able to identify the exact spot where the battle took place. It is about a mile north of the Civil Station where a long ridge of high land, then clothed with woods, slopes down into the marshes between the Nuniajori and the Burhabalang rivers near the villages of Haripur and Dohopara.[21] The river surrounds this land on three sides, and in so strong a position Murshid might long have defied his adversary, who being cut off from the town could get no provisions and was in much distress. Mursihd's son-in-law, however, rashly moved out to attack the Nawab, and the result was a complete victory for the latter. Murshid and his party got on board a ship at Balasore and fled by sea to Masulipatam. The Raja of Rattanpur with much promptness carried off Murshid's women and children from Cuttack and delivered them to him in the south before Ali Vardi could come up.

Sayid Ahmad, the Nawab's nephew, was made Governor, and rendered himself very unpopular by his tyranny. At last the people of Cuttack rose against him and recalled Murshid Kuli. He would not come himself, but sent his son-in-law Bakir Khan, who was, however, conquered again on the banks of the Mahanadi in 1741 by Ali Vardi, who appointed Masum Khan Governor of Orissa. He thinking all danger now at an end, disbanded his troops who mostly returned to their own homes, and contented himself with an escort of five thousand horse and some infantry recruited in the province. In this defenceless state was Orissa, when a great calamity occurred which entirely changed the whole current of its history, and introduced the darkest and bitterest period of suffering that the harrassed and wasted province has ever known.

[22]In the month of February 1743 (Phalgun 1150) the Marathas[23] from Berar entered the province of Orissa. After the defeat of Murshid Kuli Khan by Ali Vardi Khan at Balasore in 1740, the traitor Mir Habibullah, dewan of the former, had secretly invited the Marathas to attack Orissa. At this time Raghoji Bhonsla was ruler of Berar holding his court at Nagpur. Habib's negotiations were made in the first instance with Bhaskar Pandit or Pant (as the Marathas corrupt the word) Dewan of

[21] To the traveller approaching Balasore from the north through the centre of Murshid's position along the Calcutta Trunk Road the suitability of this particular spot for a camp of defence is very strikingly apparent. Balasore town and station lie along this high ridge with the swampy Nuniajori winding at its foot and the river just beyond.

[22] The historical details here given are derived principally from Grant Duff's History of the Marhattas; the minor and local details from native tradition and the records of the Balasore office.

[23] Beames writes this word as the natives themselves do मराठा Maratha, the common spelling Mahratta is a corrupt one.

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Raghoji. With his master's permission Bhaskar Pant made an attack upon Bihar in the first instance with twelve thousand horse and got as far as Pachet, before Ali Vardi could get up from Orissa to oppose him. A battle was fought at Katwa in which the Marathas were victorious, and Mir Habib having been (probably on purpose) taken prisoner, at once installed himself as Bhaskar's adviser, and enabled him to take possession of the town of Hughli, and subsequently to overrun the country as far as Midnapore. Ali Vadri, however, was not discouraged, he again attacked the Marathas and drove them through Midnapore, skirmishing as they retreated as far as Balasore. Here they made a stand, and a battle took place on the high land now occupied by the Civil station of Balasore, a little to the south of the camp of Murshid Kuli mentioned in a preceding paragraph. The result of the battle was unfavourable to the Marathas, for they retreated on Cuttack, taking the opportunity, however, of plundering everything they could lay hands on as they went. From Cuttack they retreated through the hills to Berar.

Immediately on their return to Nagpore, Raghoji Bhonsla himself resolved to make an attack on Bengal and marched at once. He arrived at a place between Katwa and Bardwan, but the Maratha Peshwa Balaji Rao having been incited by the Emperor of Delhi to restrain his turbulent feudatory, had marched through Allahabad, Patna and Bhagalpur, effected a junction with Ali Vardi Khan at Murshidabad and bore down on Raghoji. The latter having no mind to come to open blows with the Minister of his nominal sovereign, retreated but was overtaken and defeated, after which with the remnant of his forces he marched again through Balasore, plundering and destroying as he went, back to Berar.

Into the confused history of Maratha politics in those days it is not necessary to enter. Suffice it to say that Raghoji Bhonsla was, next to the Peshwa, the most powerful Maratha noble of the time, and shortly after his return to his capital he marched on Sattara, and exorted from the puppet Raja a deed by which, while the rest of the countries under Maratha rule, or rather misrule, were retained by the Peshwa, to Raghoji himself were assigned the revenues of Oudh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The Raja was possibly giving away a good deal more than he possessed, but that did not much matter, Raghoji's horsemen, with their long spears, might be trusted to settle the rest.

In the cold weather of 1744 Raghoji sent an army of 20,000 horse into Orissa apparently by way of Sambhalpur. Ali Vardi met them in Midnapore and being unable to cope with them in the field proposed negotiations. He invited to an entertainment Bhaskar Pant, Ali Karawal and the principal officers, and there murdered them. The army retreated in confusion through

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Balasore and were much harassed by the peasantry who maintained a guerilla warfare and cut off all stragglers without mercy.[24]

In 1745 Raghoji took his revenge. Marching down upon Cuttack in November, he overran the country probably as far as the Subanrekha, and refused to leave unless he was paid three krores of rupees. He then advanced to Katwa, but the indomitable Ali Vardi met him there and defeated him, on which he returned to Berar without his money, but plundering as usual on the way.

Raghoji was now, fortunately for Balasore and Orissa, engaged in wars and intrigues on his own side of the country for some time. In the immediately succeeding years he appears to have left Orissa pretty much to itself, though stray bands of Marathas made their appearance from time to time in 1748 and 1749 ; but in 1750 Janoji Bhonsla, son of old Raghoji, was sent into Orissa with Mir Habib and the two commenced their old system of plunder and extortion. In 1750 Ali Vardi lost all hope of resisting the marauders and gave up to them the whole province south of the Subanrekha as well as the Pargana of Pattaspur north of that river. The Marathas were to hold the province as security for the *chauth* or tribute always claimed by them from conquered provinces.

Stirling speaks of a second invasion which occurred in 1753, but this seems doubtful. At any rate it could not have been led by Janoji, for Raghoji died in that year, and Janoji was busy in securing his succession to the hereditary office of Sena Sahib or Commander-in-Chief and was at Puna for that purpose during the greater part of the year.

In the year 1751, during Janoji's occupation of Orissa, the traitor Habib met his deserts. Janoji charged him with enbezzlement and made him prisoner in his camp at Garhpada, a large and important village on the borders of Moharbhanj, 15 miles north of Balasore, and still the seat of a respectable family of zemindars. Habib was indignant at being confined, and with a few followers tried to escape, and the guards placed over him hacked him to pieces.[25] The place, where his camp was pitched is still known as Habibganj. It is a small bazar and village in Pargana Garhpada.

There is nothing further at this period specially relating to Balasore. In 1755 the whole province was finally and conclu-

[24] Beames remarks:

"One is glad to see the Oriya peasantry showing some little spirit on this occasion. It would have better for them had they done so oftener."

[25] According to a Marhatta account Alivardi brought about the death of Mir Habib by a stratagem. He forged a letter using the name of Mir Habib and contrived to have it put in Januji's hands, who ordered the execution of Mir Habib immediately. (Marathi Riyasat Madhya Bibhag, vol. ii, p. 413).

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sively made over to the Marathas at the request of the zemindars of Midnapore and Burdwan in exchange for 4 lakhs of the "chauth," the remainder to be paid from Bengal. Janoji's attention was engrossed by more exciting events in his own country, and he contented himself with getting as much money as he could out of the province and leaving it to be governed by his officers as they chose. The northern limit of Orissa was at this time not as is generally stated at the Subanrekha, but included Pataspur and Bhograi.

The oppression of the Marathas has often been written about. To this day the peasant's name for anarchy and oppression is "Maratha Amal." Janoji Bhonsla died in 1773, and was succeeded by his brother Sabaji, who ruled till 1775, when he was slain in battle by Madhoji his brother, who succeeded him as regent for his own son Raghoji II who had been adopted by Janoji and named his successor.

Before continuing the history of Balasore under the Marathas it will be interesting to collect the scattered notices of their presence in Orissa as it affected the then growing power of the English. Our countrymen as will be stated more in detail in the next section, had for more than a century been in possession of factories and trading-posts in Orissa.[26] The chief of these were at Balasore and Pipli on the Subanrekha of which more hereafter. The first entry in the Government records is dated 25th February 1748, and records the alarm caused by the Marathas, then encamped at Katwa in Burdwan and threatening Murshidabad. On the same date Kelsall, Resident at Balasore, suggests the sending of the post by mounted postmen as faster than runners. The Marathas were in great force in the Santhal Pargunnahs and all over lower Bengal, and took a fort on the site of the present Botanical Gardens. The Nawab sends a hint to the English to the effect that they should drive away these marauders who had plundered the Company's fleet of boats laden with silk from Casimbazar.

In August of the same year, Kelsall again writes from Balasore that the "Morattoes Horse" had attacked the factory of Balramgarhi at the mouth of the Balasore river, but had been repulsed by the Nawab who had pursued them into Cuttack.

In May 1749 the Nawab was at Cuttack, the Marathas had fled, but were expected to return the next year, which, as we have seen, they did under Janoji. There were still, however, parties of them hanging about Dimond Harbour and the lower reaches of the river. They seem to have given the English a wide berth, though the timid Bengalis could make no stand against them. The Marathas were not blood-thirsty, their object

[26] *Selections from the records of the Government of India,* by Rev. J. Long 1748 to 1767.

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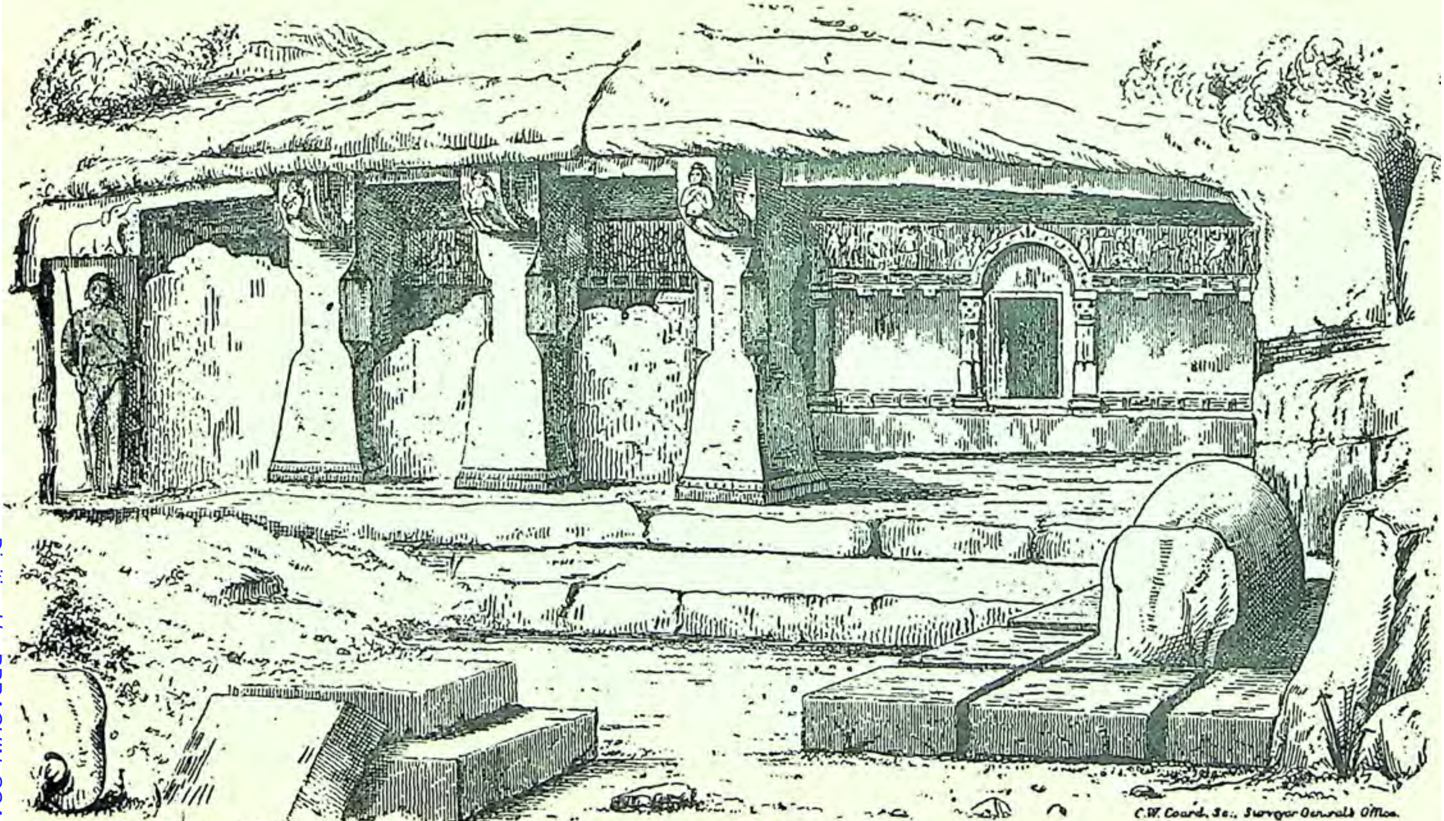

Reduced from the Asiatic Society's Journal.

C.W. Coard, Sc., Surveyor General's Office.

GANESH GARBHA CAVE

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was plunder, but of that they were insatiable. Too contemptuous of the Oriyas to take any great precautions, they seem to have wandered about in small bands stripping the country bare as they went.

In 1750 with Janoji's return matters grew worse and we find Kelsall reporting that, owing to the disturbances in the country, he could not "purchase any ready money goods, as the weavers or greater part of them have been obliged to abscond."

Stirling would appear to be correct as to an invasion in 1753, (though I do not think Janoji himself could have been with it), for the Resident at Balasore writes from Balramgarhi on 1st February of that year in a very desponding tone—"Weavers at Balasore complain of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastation of the Mahrattas, who 600 in number, after plundering Balasore had gone to the Nellegreen (Nilgri?) hills; several weavers have bought their looms into the factory, and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to quit the place. Desires he will send him 1500 or 2000 maunds of rice on the Honorable Company's account."

The residency at Cuttack does not seem to have been established till 1757, nearly a hundred years later than Balasore; for there is a letter dated 24th July of that year from John Bristow urging that he be allowed to hoist the Company's flag there. Again in 1759 Gray is directed to stay at Cuttack as long as he he can with safety to himself, to keep the Government informed of the proceedings of the "Morattoes."

Even so late as 1760 the English do not seem to have contemplated that the Marathas would permanently retain Orissa, though one would have thought that they must have heard of the treaty in 1755, in spite of which "John Burdett at Balasore requests to be allowed to keep the spies allowed for that Factory while the Marathas remain in the country, otherwise it will be impossible for him to acquaint us with their motions." (March 27.)

It appears in fact that the Marathas were bad neighbours, and not careful to confine themselves within their treaty boundaries. Long after 1755 the Burdwan Raja collected and kept up troops from fear of them and "Gawsib Singh the Jellasore zamadar, a man of great valour" was sent into Midnapore to protect the ryots. Pattaspore being in the hands of the Marattas, Jellasore must have been a very exposed positton, a long narrow strip in fact of the Nawab's territory stretching far down into the country held by the Marathas, and consequently exposed to inroads from them. The collection of troops by the Bardwan Raja was probably simply a feint and was seen through, and he was ordered to disband them. Sheo Bhat Santra was the first Maratha Subadar of Orissa, and he it is who is alluded to in the

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Proceedings of 25th February 1760 as "Shubuts having entered this Province with a party of Marathas and commenced hostilities against us." The people of Balasore have no distinctly historical facts to relate of this period; all they know is, that bands of "Bargis," as the Maratha horse were called, were always wandering about the country, fighting and plundering under pretext of collecting revenue. The zamindars and khandaits were turbulent and refractory, and it is astonishing how little influence the Marathas seem to have had over them.

In 1761 we hear of the troops of "Shah Bhut" coalescing with the Rajas of Birbhum and Bardwan, and subsequently returning to Balasore by way of Midnapore. It appears from Proceedings of September 17, 1761 that Sheo Bhat considered himself entitled to take possession of Midnapore, and to ravage Bengal whenever he did not get his chauth, and the English therefore resolve on that date to "set on foot an expedition against Cuttack," the Nawab to pay the cost by an assignment on the revenues of Jellasore and Cuttack. The omission of all mention of Balasore shews that it had still no importance in the Revenue Department. The old division into the Sirkars of Jellasore, Bhadrakh, and Cuttack was evidently still in force. Sheo Bhat had at this time forcibly annexed the chauth of Midnapore to that of Cuttack and was deaf to the Nawab's remonstrances. Johnstone the Company's Resident at Midnapore was beseiged in "Midnapore house" 14 days by Sheo Bhat at the head of a large force, and made a gallant defence. This roused the Calcutta Committee and they suggested to the Nawab that that the war should be carried into the enemies' country by an expedition to Cuttack, which would have the effect of securing to him "the total ancient possessions of the Subahs of Bengal" and be "a considerable addition to his revenues and a firm barrier against future incursions of the Marathas." They wrote at the same time to the Bombay Committee urging them to make a simultaneous attack on the Marathas from their side.

Nothing, however, came of this, owing to the Nawab's unwillingness to act. In 1763 there is a letter from the Governor at Balasore to one "Moonshee Gholam Mustapha" directing him to warn Sheo Bhat that in case of his continuing to oppress the ryots "the army that is just arrived from Madrass" would be sent against him, and the town of Cuttack taken from him. In 1764 Sheo Bhat was turned out, and Bhawani Pandit appointed in his place. On the 5th October the latter writes a threatening letter stating that the former Nawab's negotiations concerning the chauth were never brought to an issue without the approach of an army. Unfortunately the extracts in Long's book are arranged chronologically, so that we never get the full thread of any one series of transactions. I cannot say therefore what was the result of this letter, but as the English on their

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part had their hands full at this time with their quarrel with the Nawab, their inaction is perhaps sufficiently accounted for.

There is, however, great dearth of information about the internal affairs of Balasore at this time. On 4th December comes another letter from Bhawani Pandit stating that two years before the zamindars of Moharbhanj[27] and Nilgiri had plundered the inhabitants of some parts of Balasore and entered into a confederacy with Bhaskar Pandit, faujdar of that place, whom they had carried off into Nilgiri and kept there, so that no revenue had been received from him for two years. This is hardly to be reconciled with the fact that two years earlier Sheo Bhat and his cavalry had been ravaging Midnapore and Jellasore. The gleanings remaining after Sheo Bhat, for the Nilgiri zamindar to pick up, must have been scant enough. One wonders after so many years of plundering what there could have been left for any one to take. Bhawani writes again on the 27th to say, he had come to the neighbourhood of Jellasore with his troops, but as the Maharaja (Janoji) had always been desirous to do "what is most beneficial for the poor inhabitants of the country" (! !) he had ordered his officers not to enter either Jellasore or Midnapore, so as to avoid any breach with the English. All this while Sheo Bhat was still in Orissa exciting zamindars and paiks to resist the new Governor Bhawani Pandit. The Raja of Kanika whose territories lay partly in Balasore and partly in Cuttack was notorious for the disturbances he kept up. He and his paiks were conspicuous then, and as we shall see for forty years after, for their oppression and general unruliness.

The Court of Directors in 1764 express their great pleasure at learning that the proposed expedition against the Marathas in Balasore and Cuttack had been given up as "conquests are not our aim." They little foresaw what an amount of conquests would soon be forced on them by circumstances!

The Marathas were now, however, on good terms with the English, and in February 1764 there was a good deal of correspondence. Three residents were appointed, Marriott at Balasore, Hope at Cuttack, and Moore at Malood; their chief business was to keep open the communication between Calcutta and Madras, and on one occasion mention is made of sending letters by this route to Bombay, a project frequently revived in subsequent times. A letter was also written to "Bauskir Pandit, Fauzdar of Balasore" (probably the Bhaskar Pandit mentioned above) requesting him to assist Marriott who was to live at the Company's Factory; and another curious letter to "Chumina Sen, Chief at Cuttack" requests him to give strict orders to the zamindars to provide "oil and mushauls, tom-toms and pike-

[27] Mayurbhanj.

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men &c. according to custom." The tom-toms were to be beaten to frighten away tigers which infested the jungles through which the road passed, a significant hint as to the desolate state of the country in those days.

At the end of this year, however, we again hear from Midnapore and Balasore of threatening bodies of Maratha horse on the Balasore frontier, to check whom it was thought advisable to despatch a small force under Major Champion to garrison Midnapore. Janoji appears about this time to have sent a force of 5,000 cavalry to take possession of Midnapore.

We now come to the acquisition by the Company of the Dewani. The Directors in 1767 agree to pay to the Marathas all arrears of chauth on condition of the cession of Orissa, and negotiations were in consequence opened with Janoji to this end. A vakil, one Udaipuri Gosain, was appointed by Janoji to treat with the Bengal Council, and the amount was fixed at 13 lakhs of rupees. The vakil, however, pretended that he had no authority to deliver up the province to the English, and there the matter seems to have rested for the time being.[28]

From this point there is little more to record of general history. The internal history of Balasore for the next thirty-four years is also nearly a blank. The Maratha Governors were as follows as far as can be ascertained:

Sheo Bhat Santra	... ...	A.D. 1756
Chimna Sahu and Udaipuri Gosain	...	„ 1764
Bhawani Pandit	... ...	„ 1764
(Sheo Bhatt in rebellion in Kanika and Kujang all this time).		
Shambhuji Ganesh	...	„ 1768
Babaji Naik[29]	...	„ 1771
Madhaji Hari		„ 1773
Babaji Naik[29] (restored)	... ...	„ 1775
Madhaji Hari (restored) same year	...	„ 1775
Rajaram Pandit	... ...	„ 1778
Sadashib Rao	... ...	„ 1782
Chimnaji Bala[30]	... uncertain.	

Of the local Faujdars in the Balasore district tradition has preserved some scattered reminiscences. Bhaskar Pandit was

[28] It was proposed that Januji would get 13 lakhs of rupees annually in lieu of cession of Orissa. But the transaction failed owing to the lack of statesmanship on the part of the British.

[29] Babuji Nayak.

[30] Chimanji Bapu was never the Governor of Orissa. Rajaram Mukund Pandit retired in 1793 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Sadasib Rao who ruled upto 1797 A.D. After him Vyankaji Sakadev was appointed Governor with Balaji Kanher as the Commander and on death or retirement of the former the latter became the Governor and continued to be so upto the British conquest of Orissa in 1803.

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Faujdar about 1760, and is mentioned as we have seen in the English records. The story of his having been carried off into Nilgiri by the Raja has been noticed above. From him is probably named the village of Bhaskarganj opposite to the Mission premises at Balasore.

Lala Kishor Rai is also mentioned as Faujdar, but his date is not certain. He is said to have founded the Lala Bazar near Barabati in the town; and to have built a Baradari or twelve-doored palace near that place.

After him came Raghunath Sarang whose name is connected with the village of Raghunathpur, eighteen miles east of Cuttack; he was succeeded by Mortiram whose administration lasted for a long time, some say, for fifteen years, but this is improbable as the Marathas were constantly changing their officials, and few, even of the higher grades, held office for more than four or five years. In his time an expedition was sent against Bairagi Bhanj, Raja of Moharbhanj[31] who had withheld his peshkash. This expedition returned victorious and brought with it, besides the captive Raja, two idols of Hanuman and Lachminarayan which are still worshipped in temples in the town.

The last Maratha Faujdar of Balasore was Mayura Pandit, commonly called Moro Pant who lived on the site where the Jagannath temple in Balasore now stands. He appears to have been a rapacious tyrant, and there are several allusions to him in Captain Morgan's early letters. When defeated by the English, he retired to Cuttack plundering the ryots as he went, and in the following year we find the revenue authorities allowing remissions on account of rents forcibly collected in advance on his retreat by Moro Pant. Oddly enough he is stated in the correspondence to be still residing in Cuttack, and it is suggested that he be brought to account for his spoliations, but the wise policy of passing a sponge over all transactions of the former Government, which prevailed at that time probably saved him, as we do not read of his being questioned.

To close the account of the Maratha period, I here bring together various facts or traditions which I have collected from natives of the district. The town of Balasore in those days consisted principally of the bazars which had grown up round the English and Dutch settlements, and of the suburbs lying along the river, then as now, chiefly inhabited by Muhammadans, as Kasba, Muhamadpur, Nurpur &c. Motiganj, now the centre of the town, and the principal market-place was founded by

[31] Bairagi Bhanja was a relation of Raja Damodar Bhanj of Mayurbhanj and was adopted as a third son of the Raja. After the death of Damodar Bhanj in 1793, when his widow queen Sumitradevi ascended the throne Bairagi was appointed as the Manager of her concerns.

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Motiram, probably about 1785—1790. The rest is described as a plain covered with jungle and scrub. The road to Jagannath ran through the town past the Gargaria tank to Phulwar Ghat and must have been from the nature of the country almost impassable for six months of the year.

Rents were paid chiefly in cowries, and all collections were remitted to Cuttack once in three months, including the peshkash from Morbhanj and Nilgiri. The peshkash of Amboh, Keonjhar, Sokinda, Chidra and other mehals near the Baitarani appears to have been paid through the Faujdar of Bhadrakh. Old men still remember to have heard their fathers tell of the terrible punishments inflicted by the Maratha rulers. All cases were tried verbally, no record of any kind being kept, and culprits were sentenced to be tied to the heels of a horse which was then flogged through the streets. Others were bound, smeared with sugar and exposed to the ants and other insects. Others again had their fingers tied together and wedges of iron inserted between them.

The trade of the port was even then considerable. Madras ships came for rice and paddy, and the Laccadive and Maldive islanders then as now visited the port. It was from these latter that the cowries, so much used as currency, were obtained.

A seer of rice was sold for 15 gandas or about 70 seers to the rupee. (It was 65 seers in 1805, and now in favourable seasons sells at 30 or 32.) Opium cost a *pan* of cowries per masha, salt 14 karas per seer. The advantages of low prices were, however, much counterbalanced by the capricious exactions of the rulers. Although they seem to have had the sense not to drive away the trade by oppressing foreigners, yet upon the natives of the province itself they had no mercy. It was dangerous to be rich, or at least to display any amount of wealth, lest the attention of the Marathas should be called to the fact, and plunder and extortion follow as a matter of course. It is not surprising therefore that when the English appeared on the scene, the Marathas were left to fight their own battles, quite unsupported by the people. Indeed, they seem to have been so conscious of their unpopularity as never to have attempted to enlist the sympathies of the Oriyas on their behalf. Had they done so, the turbulent Rajas of the hills and the sea-coast might have given us a great deal of trouble and enabled the Marathas to hold out for some time.

The English Period: The English as traders

To Balasore belongs the honour of containing the first settlement made by our countrymen in any part of the Bengal Presidency. By a firman, dated February 2nd, 1634 the Emperor Shah Jahan granted them permission to establish a

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factory at Pipli on the Subanrekha.[32] They were prohibited from settling on the Ganges or any of its branches, in consequence of the disturbances caused by the Portuguese in the Sundarbans and other places shortly before. In 1640 through the intervention of Boughton, a Surgeon who had obtained great influence over several members of the Royal Family by curing them of various diseases, the English obtained permission to establish factories at Balasore and Hughli. In consequence of this permission they applied to the Nawab who granted them 12 batis (a bati is 20 bighas) of land near the village of Balasore which was then rising into some importance as a port. The settlement was called Barabati (*i.e.* twelve batis) from its extent and is at present the principal quarter of the modern town of Balasore, and the residence of the wealthiest merchants.

It is not exactly known when the Dutch first came to Orissa, their settlement at Balasore, however, is less advantageously situated than that of the English. The latter commands the river and a convenient careening creek, and has also better means of access to the native town, while the Dutch Settlement, still called "Hollandais Sahi", is behind that of the English and cut off from the river and the town by Barabati. I conclude therefore that the English came here first, as if the Dutch had been first in the field, it is not likely that they would have taken the worse site of the two. We do not find any mention of them before 1664 when thev had a dispute with the English about their mutual boundaries, which was settled by the Nawab Shaista Khan. The boundaries are, however, very vague and refer to certain trees, roads and ditches which are of course not now in existence. The present boundary is very irregular and overlaps the land of Barabati in several places.

From the Cuttack records it appears that they acquired a plot of land at Balasore from the Nawab Mataqid Khan ; this officer was naib for Shah Shuja son of the Emperor Shah Jahan and was appointed in A.H. 1055=A.D. 1645 (Padshahnamah, II, 473.) This would make them at least 5 years later than the English, even if we suppose them to have got the grant in the very beginning of Mataqid's tenure of office.[33]

The Danish Settlement, now called "Danemar Dinga" is worse situated than the Dutch, being further up the creek and further from the town, and it is stated by Stewart that they and the French did not arrive in Balasore till 1676. There is a Dutch tomb still standing in the compound of the old factory, on which is the following inscription:

"Michael Jans Burggraaf van Sevenhuisen obiit [ ]

[32] Stewart's *History of Bengal*, page 244.

[33] It is probably from this governor that the Parganahs of Matkatabad and Matkatnagar take their names.

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Novemb. 1696." The day of the month has unfortunately been broken off in the cyclone of July 1871 by a tree falling against it. Stirling is in error in saying (*Orissa*, page 30) that this tomb is dated 1660. It is a huge triangular obelisk of brick plastered about 50 feet high, and the inscription is so high up that a mistake might easily be made in copying it from the ground. To make sure I climbed a mango tree standing close in front and copied it from a distance of a few inches only. The oldest tomb in the English cemetery at Barabati is dated 1684 and the inscription runs thus—

16 { coat of arms } 84

> Here lyeth the body of Ann late wife of Captain Francis Wishaw who died ye p^mo. 9 ber aged 26 years.
> Also the body of Edward his son who deceased the 27th of the same month aged 4 years Anno Dni. 1684.

There were minor settlements at Soroh and Bhadrakh, and the chief article of trade was that in "Sanahs" a peculiar kind of fine cloth which is still occasionally brought for sale to Balasore. This will expain the frequent allusions to the weavers in the early records.

Balramgarhi is situated at the mouth of the Balasore river, and was formerly a large and flourishing place. The native village was washed away in the storm of 1831 and since then the place has been desolate. The old house, however, has lately been repaired and is inhabited.

We have only scattered notices of Balasore from time to time in the various histories. These I proceed to put together into as continuous a narrative as possible, aided by the few vague local traditions which still remain.

In 1685 Balasore was near being abandoned by the English altogether. Shaista Khan the Nawab of Bengal was accused by them, of oppressing their servants and injuring their trade. Apparently the English were not free from blame themselves. However, as usual they carried matters with a high hand, and the Company at home with permission of James II sent out a fleet of 10 ships under Admiral Nicholson with orders to proceed first to Balasore, and remove the Company's servants and break up the factory. He was then to go to Chittagong, fortify it and make it a base of operations and asylum for the English, from which to commence the war, by first attacking Dacca and gradually over-running Bengal.[34] Nicholson's fleet, however, met with bad weather and eventually arrived at Hughli, and a war ensued which was not brought to a close till 1687 ; a peace

[34] Stewart, p. 312.

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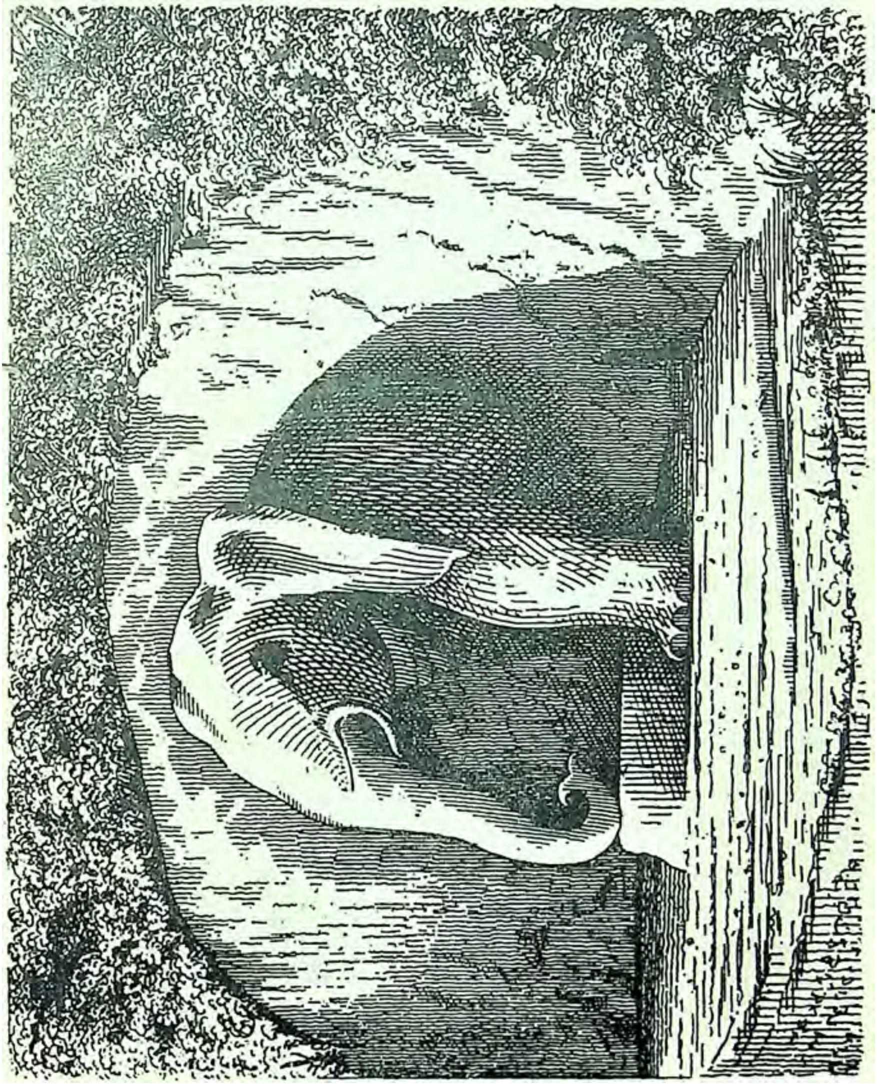

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was made in that year but did not last many months. The Company annoyed at the failure of Nicholson's expedition, sent a second under Captain Heath, whose first proceeding was to carry off Charnock and the Company's servants from "Chuttanutty" (now Calcutta) and taking them on board his ships sail for Balasore. The Governor of that place, whose name is not mentioned, offered to treat with him, but as Heath would not consent to do so, the Governor seized the Company's two factors and imprisoned them. "Heath landed with a party of soldiers and seamen on the 29th November 1688 attacked and took a redoubt of 30 guns and plundered the town of Balasore.[35] The fort could only have been at Muhamadnagar near the present Customs Wharf, as there is no other place near the town where a fort could have been of any use. At that place there are still some curious mounds and ridges which closely resemble fortifications, and the position is one which would command the approach to the town by water as well as the shipping in the port. The two unfortunate factors were sent into the interior and never heard of again. After this senseless and purposeless outrage, Captain Heath sailed away to Chittagong, and the native governor very naturally demolished the Company's factory.

Balasore now remained unoccupied by the English till 1691, when a firman was granted by Aurangzeb for the re-establishment of the factories in Bengal. Mrs. Wishaw's tombstone mentioned above has a great hole in it, which looks as if it had been torn up from its original position and probably thrown away, till restored on the re-occupation of the factory by our countrymen. It is the only tombstone of so early a date. The next is to the memory of Mrs. Kelsall, wife of the factor already mentioned, and is dated 1751. Calcutta was not founded till 1690 and it is curious that we hear nothing of Pipli in all these events. It would seem that Balasore had become the more important place of the two.

Nothing more is known of the condition or circumstances of Balasore Factory till 1748. It is said by some writers that on the capture of Calcutta by Surajuddaulah in 1756 the English fugitives took refuge at Balramgarhi. I find no mention of this in the Records, and it would on the contrary appear that Drake and his garrison were on board their ships at Fulta till the arrival of Clive. In 1763 the French fleet was cruising in Balasore roads and captured some English ships (Long, P. 295), which caused a great panic in Calcutta. Two years previous to this, the following curious and interesting entry is to be found in the Government records (Long, p. 250.) "From Latful Neheman (? Rahman) Thanadar of Balasore, January 1761. Some

[35] Stewart, p. 321.

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time ago the merchants were wont to send iron, stone-plates, rice and other things from hence to Calcutta, and they brought tobacco and other things from thence to sell here, and therefore the merchants reaped a profit on both. Two years ago Mr. Burdett came here and Jaggernauth was his Mutsooddy and brought a sloop for his own use and intercepted the trade from Balasore to Calcutta. The merchants were so much distressed that they relinquished trade, and many of them left the place and transacted their business at Kunka, where they remain and those that are here are greatly distressed and are always making complaints. I have represented it to him but he will not listen to it. He has left the factory and embarked on board a sloop, and has intercepted the merchant boats and will not permit them to pass."

It will be observed that the trade in stone-plates and rice constituted then as now, the principal export of Balasore.

The only other notice of this period is a petty squabble in 1766 with the Dutch about a rope walk which was made by the English on land claimed by the Dutch. The land was given up by the former.

Commencement of English rule

When the war broke out with the Marathas, as a part of the general operations, it was resolved to drive them out of Orissa, and while General Wellesley attacked them from the south, and General Lake from the north, and were victorious respectively in the celebrated battles of Assaye and Leswaree, the 1st Madras Fusileers, with two native Madras Regiments all under Lieutenant-Colonel George Harcourt marched from Ganjam and took the town of Cuttack on the 10th October 1803.

At the same time a detachment of troops, European and native, about 1000 strong under Captain Morgan, and Lieutenant Broughton sailed for Balasore. I cannot find where they came from, but it was most probably from Calcutta, as the native troops belonged to the Bengal army and a detachment of the same troops was sent under Col. Fergusson[36] to Jellasore to protect the Bengal Frontier. They arrived in three ships, and landed at Jampada near Gabgaon a village adjoining old Balasore on the east, and about three miles below the present town. They were in want of provisions, which were supplied to them by Prahlad Nayak, zamindar of old Balasore. They then advanced along the bank of the river, and owing probably to the difficult nature of the ground, were not opposed by the Marathas till they got close to Balighat just below Barabati. Here a band of horsemen bore down on them, and in the skir-

[36] They were the 1st batt. 5th Bengal N. I. and 2nd batt. 7th N. I.—(*Balasore Collectorate records*, 1804).

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mish which ensued, one European soldier was killed. The English then rushed forward and attacked the Maratha fort, which stood on the site of the salt gola, and soon took possession of it. The Marathas appear to have made but a faint resistance, and quickly disappeared. Immediately after this, a drum was beaten in all the bazars announcing that the English had taken possession of the province and would protect all who behaved themselves peaceably.

Finding the old factory in ruins Captain Morgan took up his quarters in a new house built by Wilkinson the last resident and at once set to work to pacify the district and restore order. The date of the capture of Balasore is 21st September 1803.[37]

The news of this success reached Colonel Harcourt before he arrived at Cuttack. The earliest letter in the records of the Balasore Collectorate is one from Colonel Harcourt to Captain Morgan congratulating him. I give a portion of it.

"In Camp at Burpoorshuttumpore, 25 miles south of Cuttack, 3rd October 1803.

"SIR,

"I have great satisfaction in acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 22nd ultimo and am happy to hear of your successes in Balasore.......

"I have &c.
"G. HARCOURT,
"Lieutenant Colonel.
"Coming. in Cuttack."

This shews that Morgan had taken Balasore before the British force had even reached Cuttack.

Captain Morgan, who appears to have been a rough and ready, but able officer, pushed on a small detachment and occupied Soroh, which for some reason he miscalls Soorrung, on the 3rd October. The first book of copies of letters sent is unfortunately not to be found, and the earliest letter of Captain Morgan's is dated 12th June 1804, but from a large collection of letters in Colonel Harcourt's own hand still in the office, his and Morgan's movements may be clearly traced.

Their first efforts were to learn the geography of the Moharbhanj and Nilgiri Hills, especially the passes, and to open communications with the Rajas of those two States Spies were sent into "Mohurbundge and Lilliagerhy" as Harcourt writes them, to keep a watch on the chiefs, and Passports were to be granted to their vakeels or representatives should they desire to visit Cuttack.

Soroh was abandoned and the detachment under Lieutenant Slye marched to Jajpore in November. Morgan was at once

[37] (Morgan to Post Master General 26-9-1804 and Grant Duff, *History of Marathas*).

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entrusted with Revenue duties, in that month he is instructed to make it known that "as it is the intention of the Commissioners for the settlement of the Province of Cuttack to give a general acquittal of all arrears of Revenue due to the Sircar, previous to the arrival of the British Troops in the Province, we mean on the other hand not to attend to any complaints which the zamindars, kandytes, mokuddums or ryots may wish to prefer against their former masters" (Colonel Harcourt to Morgan 3-11-1803.) The Moharbhanj Rani[38] was at this time apparently half afraid to come in, and half disposed to be turbulent. Harcourt writes frequent letters to her, and enjoins on Morgan the necessity of extremely conciliatory conduct to her. A certain Possman appears to have been up in Moharbhanj meddlng, he is warned that if he does not return at once to Balasore "immediate steps will be taken against him." Moharbhanj, however, does not appear to have quieted down, and two Companies of Infantry one from Balasore and one from Jellasore were sent to Hariharpur (spelt Hurispore and Huriorpoor) "to promote the peace and tranquillity of the Mohurbundge district." Further instructions are to the effect following:

"Having cause to believe that the Rani of Mohurbundge and her adopted son Te-koit[39] are both desirous of the protection of the British Government being extended to them you will direct the office proceeding to Huriorpore in command of a detachment, to conduct himself towards the Rannee and Te-koit, or their vakeels with every mark of friendly attention. He may open any necessary communication with them, but you will be pleased to enjoin him to avoid committing himself by any promises or agreements that may be constructed by them as binding on the British Authorities in Cuttack." (Harcourt, 16-11-1803.)

Cuttack now begins to be noticeable as it is at frequent intervals throughout the early years of British rule as a place in constant want of supplies and always on the verge of famine. On 1st December 1803 an urgent call is made for fifteen thousand maunds of rice from Balasore. Again on the 1st June 1804 Captain Morgan is ordered to warn all pilgrims of the great scarcity of rice and cowries at Cuttack, and to endeavour to induce them to supply themselves with provisions before entering the province.

On the 1st September 1804 a third call is made on Balasore for 20,000 maunds of rice which were accordingly despatched in boats from Dhamra and Churaman. A long correspondence

[38] Sumitra Devi, the widow of Raja Damodar Bhanj.

[39] Te-Koit is Tikait one bearing the tika (tilaka) or mark of sovereignty, and is the usual title of the heir-apparent to a throne. The then Tikait of Mayurbhanj was Tribikram Bhanj.

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follows in the course of which occurs an important letter of Captain Morgan's, dated 27th September and marked "Private" in which he explains the cause of the continual scarcity at Cuttack.

He begins by pointing out that twenty miles north of the Mahanadi there was no scarcity at all, that Balasore had rice in store enough for three years' consumption, and it was seeling at 65 seers (of 80 tolas) for the rupee: there were immense stocks at Dhamra and Churaman intended for export to Madras, and consequently he concludes that the scarcity of rice at Cuttack is not natural, but must have been artificially produced. In examining the causes for this state of things he arrives at the following conclusions:

1. The large number of Marathas still resident at Cuttack are bitterly hostile to the English and do their best to stop the import of rice in the hope of starving us out. They have ceased to import from Sambhalpore as they used to, for the same reason, and having long had relations with the ryots many of whom still hold their advances for grain unliquidated they are able to prevent them from bringing in grain to Cuttack.

2. The ryots have hitherto always been accustomed to give up nothing until they were compelled. The Marathas took what they wanted by force, and the ryots did not understand our mild method of asking for and paying for what we wanted, they took it for weakness, and were so elated at their release from oppression, that they thought themselves quite independent and would do nothing to oblige any one.

3. The Amils were in league against us, as they had for a long time taken advantage of their position to hold the lion's share of the profitable export trade to Madras, and did not wish to sell in Cuttack.

4. The Commissariat officers were shamefully inert and incompetent, and notwithstanding all the above drawbacks could, if they would only exert themselves, collect a much larger supply than they did. Colonel Harcourt appears to have taken some effective steps to remedy this state of things, for no further rice was required from Balasore during the rest of 1804 or in 1805.

Raja Tripati Raj was at this time sent from Cuttack to Balasore to act as Amil or Collector of the Revenue, and was put under Captain Morgan's orders; and Amils were appointed at Soroh, Bhadrakh and Dolgram, who also were directed to send in their accounts to that officer. They all appear to have been thoroughly untrustworthy; making use of every conceivable pretext to avoid doing what was required of them, and carrying that exasperating policy of passive resistance at which the Oriyas are such adepts to the highest pitch. The correspondence teems with complaints against them. They would not

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collect the revenue punctually, they never knew anything that they were asked about, they could not be found when wanted, denied having received this or that order, sent in their accounts imperfectly drawn up, long after time, and sometimes not at all, and on the whole behaved as badly as any set of men in their position well could. This indeed appears to have been the general tone of every one in the Province. Well aware of our ignorance of the country, they all with one accord abstained from helping us in any way, no open resistance was ventured upon, but all stolidly sat aloof—papers were hidden, information withheld, boats, bullocks and carts sent out of the way, the zamindars who were ordered to go into Cuttack to settle for their estates did not go, and on searching for them at their homes could not be found, were reported as absent, on a journey, no one knew where. But if from ignorance the English officers committed any mistake, then life suddenly returned to the dull inert mass, and complaints were loud and incessant.

The Amil of Bhadrakh was one Mohan Lal, the name of the Amil of Soroh is not given, and during this year it would seem that Soroh and Balasore were incorporated into one Amilship under Tripati Raj.

From the circumstance of our not having Captain Morgan's letters of this period, I am unable to give more than a fragmentary history of the transactions that took place. Notices from time to time occur of parties of Marathas having been seen or heard of here and there, and there is a great search to find the "Ongole or Ungool Pass"; nobody seems to have known where it was.

Sambhalpur capitulated to Major Broughton on the 12th January 1804, and all further fear from the Marathas was thus at an end. One the 9th of the same month came also the news of a peace having been concluded with the Raja of Berar.

The light thrown upon the events of the following sixty-eight years by the tolerably complete series of English letters in the Balasore office will be duly made use of in the succeeding chapters,[40] but I conceive it unnecessary to do more in this chapter than to record the few events of importance that have occurred in the period in question. Captain Morgan remained at Balasore till 19th November 1804 when he made over charge to Ker, Collector and Magistrate, Northern Division of Cuttack. During his tenure of office he had been first simply "Commanding at Balasore" but during 1804 he had gradually grown into Collector, Magistrate, Salt and Customs Agent and general factotum.

Ker made the first settlement, which was very summary and simple. It included all the country now lying within the

[40] Beames did not write any succeeding chapters.

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Jajpore Sub-division of Cuttack, and the statements referring to it are, in part at least, still extant. To the north this settlement did not go beyond Bastah, as Jellasore was under Midnapore, and the country east of that place came under a separate arrangement. This tract of country between Jellasore and the sea was called the "Mahratta Mehals" and consisted of the Parganas of Pattaspur, Kamardachaur and Bhograi, together with the smaller mehals of Shahbandar, Napochaur and Kismat Katsahi.

There is one volume of letters sent and one of letters received for the year of Ker's incumbency 1804-5 but they contain very little of historical importance. In the early part of the year the Raja of Kanika, always a turbulent and refractory person, made an attack with, it is said, 600 armed paiks on the outpost of "Rigagurh," the place where his principal fort and residence was situated, on the lower Brahmini just above the point where it unites with the Baitarni, which was held by a native officer and a few sepoys. Captain McCarthy in command of the Honorable Company's brig "Scourge" who was at the time lying off Dhamrah sent an express to the Commissioners of Cuttack, who deputed a force of 400 paiks to keep order. The Raja and his family were seized and taken to Balasore where they were suitably lodged in a house prepared for them, and guarded by barkandazes. Kanika was brought under the management of Ker (Secretary to Commissioners 27-2-05 McCarthy to Commissioners 3-3-05)[41]

In this year also the question was raised of the expediency of removing the Calcutta Road into British Territory. It previously passed through the Moharbhanj and Nilgiri States, and the Rajas of those places under pretence of securing the safety of travellers, were in the habit of levying heavy and vexatious tolls at certain ghats or passes on the road. As they demurred about relinquishing this source of revenue, the road was removed and carried through Rajghat and Bastah to Balasore. The old road was very soon deserted by travellers as the new route through British Territory was found to be much safer and cheaper.

Major Morgan was allowed a salary of Rs. 500 a month for the period he had been in charge of Balasore (Accountant 30-9-05). The Amils who were in charge of Balasore, Soroh and Bhadrakh appear still to have been very troublesome; the correspondence of 1804 and 1805 is full of complaints of their remissness and refusal to obey orders.

Having completed his settlement Ker on the 29th August

[41] Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt and J. Melville as Commissioners of Orissa entered into the first treaty with Raja Balabhadra Bhanj of Kanika on the 22nd November, 1803. For the provisions of the treaty see R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, vol. ii pp. 269-271.

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1805 made over charge of his office to G. Webb who was appointed Collector of all Orissa, or as they persisted in calling it, the zillah of Cuttack. From this date down to 1815 there was no resident British officer in Balasore, or in fact anywhere north of the Mahanadi, and as the Collector lived at Puri in the extreme south of the province, his hold over the zamindars of the north could have been little more than nominal.

It is perhaps to the relaxation of control for many years in Balasore that we may attribute that special characteristic of the inhabitants of the district which leads them to carry on their affairs without any reference whatever to the law or to the officials of the Government. They never take the trouble to enquire what the law is on any point, but if a question arises, settle it in any way that may seem best to them. To the same cause may be ascribed the excessive prevalence of the practice of levying illegal cesses, the existence of many kinds of singular and pernicious customs, and the general muddle of conflicting interests observable in connection with landed property.

As the early years of our rule in Orissa were fertile in changes, and worked a complete revolution in the position of the classes connected with the land, it would have been interesting to trace the progress of our laws and rules and their effect upon the province. I am, however, precluded from doing this by the fact that from 1806 to 1828 there was no.........

[The abrupt conclusion of the foregoing article is due to the most unfortunate loss of the concluding pages of Beames' Manuscript while it was passing through the press. This mischance is the more to be regretted, as the lost MS. was the only copy in the author's possession; which precludes any restoration of the concluding portion. Fortunately the lost portion was very small; and the article is practically complete, and contains everything of interest and value.—Ed. J.R.A.S.B.]

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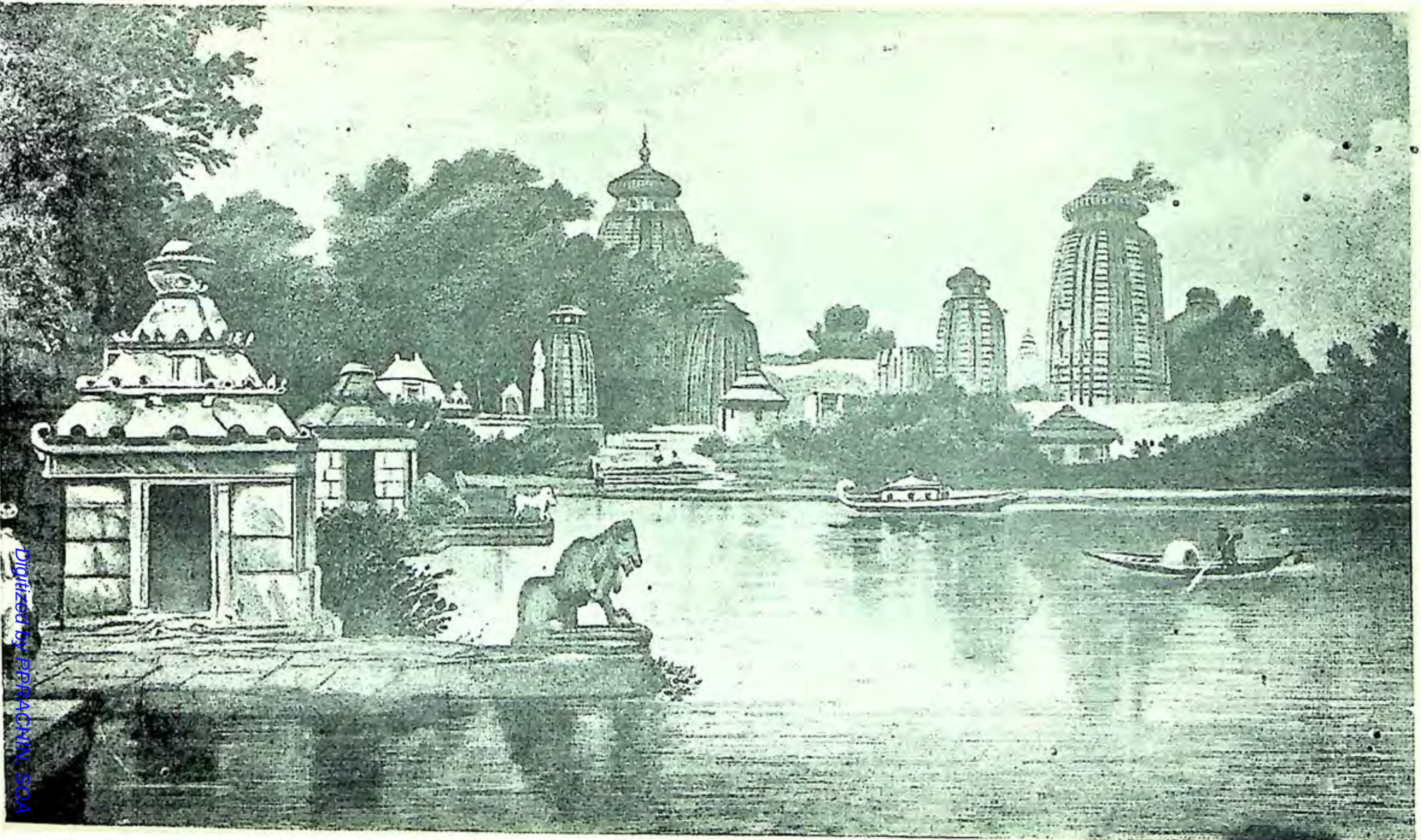

BHUVANESWAR, THE TEMPLE CITY OF SIVA

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CHAPTER IX

ORISSA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

By N. K. Sahu, M.A., Ph.D

Orissa at present sinks into an apathy and her history and culture in the past are treated with lamentable indifference. To-day it appears fantastic to place her in the ancient setting of historical Geography from the Ganges to the Godavari and from the Amarakantak[1] to the Bay of Bengal. Covering this vast area there had been in ancient times four well-defined territories namely Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and Kosala, each of them proudly self-contained, but together astonishingly harmonious in civilisation and culture. Among these four political units Kalinga was decidedly the most important one which essayed from time to time to impose by force of arms an Imperial unity over the others. The rich alluvium of the coastal plain, formed by numerous streams and rivers, with a long sea-board of indented and angular contour, as well as a vast hinterland of wild mountains and wide uplands formed the home of the ancient Kalingas. According to the epic traditions the territory of the Kalingas, reachable by a route along the sea-coast from the Ganges' mouth lay beyond Tamralipti, Karvata and Sumha and included the river Vaitarani.[2]

Early Accounts

It is known from the *Digha Nikaya*[3] that during the time of King Renu, Kalinga Rattha was one of the seven political divisions of India ruled by King Sattabhu at her capital Dantapura. Sattabhu being a contemporary of king Dhritarashtra (Dhatarattha) of Kasi, the celebrated king in the *Satapatha Brahmana*,[4] it can be said that the seven political units of India of which Kalinga was one were existing during the later Vedic period. The *Jatakas* contain numerous references to the Kalinga Rattha—her kings and people, religion and culture, revealing at times the Pre-Buddhist antiquity of that country. Kings like Sattabhu,[5] Kara-

[1] *Kurma Purana* II 39, 9.
[2] *Mahabharata, Sabha Parva*. 30, 24-25; *Vana Parva*, 114. 4.
[3] *Digha Nikaya* (P.T.S.) ii, 235 f; *Dialogues of the Buddha* II, 270.
[4] *Satapatha Brahamana* XIII, 5.4.22.
[5] *Dighu Nikaya*, Op. Cit.

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kandu[6] (Karandu), Kalinga,[7] Nalikira[8] and Uggata[9] are a few luminaries of the Pali stories elaborately depicted in appropriate and realistic hue of the pre-Buddha time. But strangely enough, Kalinga was not included in the list of the sixteen Mahajanapada presumably existing in the 6th century B.C. in northern India as mentioned in the *Anguthara Nikaya*.[10] The list of this *Nikaya* may not be regarded as comprehensive and we know from the Ceylonese chronicles that Prince Vijaya who migrated to Ceylon in the year of the Great Decease of Buddha was the grandson of Susima, a daughter of the Kalinga King.[11]

THE NANDAS

The history of northern India from the 6th to the 3rd century B.C. is characterised by thorough-going political movements and violent dynastic changes the effects of which swayed the whole of India. The advance of political integration in the heart of northern India from the time of Bimbisara of Haryamkakula to that of Mahapadma Nanda rapidly elaborated an imperial system coeval with the rise and fall of the Achaemenian empire in the north-west border of India. Mahapadma Ugrasena, the destroyer of all Kshatriyas (*sarva Kasatrantaka*) appeared in the political horizon about the middle of the 4th. century B.C. and unified a considerable portion of northern and southern India under one imperial sceptre (*ekacchhatra*) after overthrowing all the Ksatriya dynasties which ruled contemporaneously with the Saisunagas.[12] The last of the line of 32 Kshatriya kings who reigned in succession over Kalinga synchronously with the Saisunagas and their predecessors, was defeated and exterminated by this Nanda raja who carried away as trophies the statue of the Kalinga Jina and the heirlooms of the Kalinga kings to Magadha.[13] This indicates that Kalinga in the 4th. century B.C. was a land of Jainism and the Nanda raja who deemed the image of the Jina as the suitable trophy of his victory was to all probability a Jaina monarch. Kalinga continued to remain under the rule of the Nandas till the time of the last Nanda emperor Agrammes or Xandrammes who according to the classical writers[14] was ruling over both Prasii and Gangaridae. The word Prasii in the opinion of Schwanbeck[15]

[6] *Jataka* III, 376, ff. (*Kumbhakara Jataka*).
[7] *Jataka* IV, 228-36, (*Kalingabodhi Jataka*).
[8] *Jataka* V, 144.
[9] *Mahavastu*, ed. by Senart, III 364 f.
[10] *Angu Nikaya* (P.T.S.) I 213 ; IV 252, 256, 260.
[11] *Mahavamsa*, ed. by Geiger, VI, 1; *Dipavamsa*, ed. By Oldenberg, Ix, 2f.
[12] Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Traditions.* P. 180.
[13] Hatigumpha inscr. of Kharavela *Ep. Ind.* XX, P. 72 ff. Luder's *List* No. 1345 ; Raichaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.* 4th. Ed. P. 189.
[14] Mc-Crindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander*, Pp. 221, 281 ; Plutarch *Life of Alexander*, Ch. 62 ; *Justin* (Watson's Trans.) P. 142.
[15] Dr. B. M. Barua, *Asoka and his Inscr.*, P. 67.

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"bears a very close resemblance to the Indian word Prachyas *i.e.*, 'dwellers in the east', and the name has been used exactly in the same sense both in the *Aitareya Brahmana*[16] and the *Mahabharata*.[17] As to the Gangarides there is no doubt that they were a branch of the great Kalinga race to whom Magasthenes refers as "Gangaridum Calingarum Regia"[18] while Pliny also mentions the Macco-Calingae and Gangarides Calingae along with the peoples known as Calingae. But although Pliny mentions the three separate divisions of the Calingae tribes he seems to present a common territorial boundary for them all and remains satisfied by describing a single capital known as Parthalis, whose king possessed "1000 horse, 700 elephant and 60,000 foot in apparatus of war."[19] In any case, according to the accounts of the classical writers, Kalinga or at least the Gangaridae portion of it was under the sovereignty of the last Nanda king, and Plutarch informs us that "the kings of the Gangaridae and Prasiai were reported to be watching for him (Alexander) with an army of 80,000 horses, 20,000 foot, 8000 war chariots, and 6000 fighting elephants".[20]

THE MAURYAS—ASOKA

By the time when Kautilya and Chandragupta raised the standard of revolt against the infamous Nandas and violently occupied the throne of Pataliputra (Cir. 322 B.C.) Kalinga took up the opportunity to throw off the allegiance of Magadha and declared herself an independent power. The empire of the great Chandragupta during its palmy days extended upto the foot of the Hindukush the scientific frontier in the north-west, and as far as Surastra in the west and Mysore in the south[21] corresponding broadly to the Chakravarti Ksetra of the *Arthasastra*, but conspicuous by the exclusion of Gangaridae or Kalinga. Thus it seems certain that Kalinga did not readily pass with the Nanda empire to that of the Mauryas and Chandragupta evidently found her too powerful to be tackled with. In Rock Edict xiii Asoka describing in details the colossal nature of his Kalinga war speaks of her as a country "previously unconquered" which by its implication early suggests that Kalinga was left unconquered by the ancestors of Asoka—Chandragupta and Bindusara.

The real strength of Kalinga that challenged the great Magadhan empire lies not only in her vast over-land empire extending from the Ganges to the Godavari[22] along the coastal

[16] *Aitareya Br.* VIII. 14.
[17] *Mahabh. Sabha.* P. 29. 1 ff.
[18] Mc. Crindle *Ancient India* P. 137. Fragm. LVI-B. Gunningham, *Anc. Geog.* P. 518 ff.
[19] Mc. Crindle, *Ibid.* P. 160.
[20] Mc. Crindle, *Invasion of Ind. by Alexander*, P. 310.
[21] Raichaudhuri. *P.H.A.I.* P. 219 ff.
[22] It extended in the South at least upto Mukhalingam (Macco-Calingae?)

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tracts, and in her mighty elephant corps admired by Kautilya[23] and Diodorus[24] as the best of their types in India, but also in the fact that she "had built up a great overseas empire and spread her colonies as far as the Philippine islands in the east and far south into the islands of the Indian Archipelago."[25] Gerini and following him B. C. Mazumdar asserts that the "mighty people of Kalinga had established an empire in Burma, long before Asoka led his victorious soldiers into Kalinga".[26] Thus Kalinga with her great power and pelf must have been a constant source of anxieties for the growing Magadhan empire which was to learn in the time of Kharavela what a powerful Kalinga could do. As Dr. Bhandarkar observes[27] she was a sort of wedge driven into the body politic of Asoka's dominion which included the country of the Andhras comprising the Krishna and Godavari districts, and hence, from the standpoint of strategical and military considerations a powerful Kalinga with a big army 'in apparatus of war' could not be a matter of indifference to the Maurya monarch.

The vast Magadhan army consisting of motely elements from the Bactrian Greeks[28] to Andhras and Parindas were personally led by the emperor, against whome Kalinga put up a stalwart defence. Very probably she was attacked both from the north and the south and as R. D. Banerji observes "in that little strip of country, extending along the east coast of the Bay of Bengal, many a great battle must have been fought from the banks of the Suvarnarekha to that of the Krishna".[29] Asoka is silent about the plans of campaigns, the number of engagements and the fate of the royal house of Kalinga, but he vividly describes the horrors and miseries of this war, in which as many as 150,000 were taken prisoners, 100,000 were slain and many times that number died in the consequent famine and pestilence.[30] While we read this horrible account in the R.E. xiii we seem to be read-

[23] *Arthasastra*, II-2.

[24] Diodorus states "The Gangaridae possess a vast force of the largest size elephants. Owing to this, their country has never been conquered by any foreign king; for all other nations dread the overwhelming number and strength of these animals". For the strength of Gangaridae vide Mc. Crindle. *Magasthenes* Pp. 33. ff.

[25] R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, I p. 62.

[26] Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy* Pp. 119-39. B. C. Mazumdar, *Orissa in the Making* P. 17. *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I No. 4. P. 351.

[27] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 25.

[28] According to Taranath Asoka subdued the South of the Vindhyas by the aid of an army of Yaksa mercenaries. Vassiliev connects the name Yaksa with the Yueichi, and suggests that they were Bactrine Greeks. I.A. IV., p. 102. Fn.

[29] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*. I.P. 63.

[30] R. E. XIII of Asoka, Hultzsch, C.I.I., p. 66 ff.

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ing not a mere literal record of history but an inspired and awful epic. From this tale of havoc, bloodshed and incalculable human misery inflicted on a people, whose only crime was that they loved freedom, there came out an uncommon transformation in the impressionable mind of Asoka, which awakened in his breast "feelings of remorse, profound sorrow and regret."[31] He openly declares that "directly after the annexation of Kalinga there commenced his intense *Dhamma silana* (practice of the Law of piety)., *Dhamma Kamata* (love for the Law), and *Dhammanusasti* (inculcation of the Law)".[32] Evidently the Kalinga war was the turning point in his life and it drew him directly to the teachings of the Buddha. The Minor Rock Edicts[33] of Asoka which are considered to be the earliest of all his inscriptions[34] were issued "two and half years and some what more" after he had been a Buddhist upasaka and "a year and somewhat more after he had approached the Samgha". It is known from the accounts of the Pillar Edict vi[35] that these M.R.Es. were published by the emperor 12 years after his consecration and hence, his conversion to Buddhism must necessarily be connected with the aftereffects of the Kalinga war, which was fought eight years after his coronation.[36] Thus the Kalinga war which turned the Chandasoka into a Dharmasoka,[37] and produced far reaching effects on his policy of Dhamma and Dhamma vijaya was a great landmark in the history of India, as well as of the world. It ushered in an era of spiritual imperialism flavoured by love,[38] in place of the era of military conquests saturated by blood, and the world shaken by the terrible wars of Xerxes, Alexander and Chandragupta got a new message—the message of peace and brother-hood.

The immediate political result of the war was that Kalinga was included in the Maurya empire and was constituted a new and separate province under the viceroyalty of a Kumara of blood royal, with his headquarters at Tosali. Thus Asoka was too

[31] R. E. XIII.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] The M. R. Es. have been discovered at Sahasram (Shahabad dist. Bihar), Rupnath (Jubbulpur Dist. C.P.), Bairat (Jaipur St. Rajasthan), Maski (Raichur Dist. Hyderabad), Yerragudi (Karnul Dist. Madras) and at Siddhapura, Jatinga-Ramesvara and Brahmagiri (Chitaldrug Dist. Mysore).
[34] The M. R. Es., specially the Rupnath & Sahasram edicts, are considered the earliest of all the Asokan inscriptions, for two reasons:—

(*a*) They speak of inscription on rocks & pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out and not as a *fait accompli* (Senart, I.A. XX 236)—

(*b*) These two, as wel as the three Mysore records contain the first elements of Asoka's Dhamma, which we find more fully developed in his rock and pillar edicts. (Hultzsch. C.I.I. Vol. I. p. XLIV).

[35] *Dubadasa Vasabhisitena me Dhammalipi likhapita.* Rampurva Version, Hultzsch. *Ibid.* p. 155.
[36] R. E. XIII.
[37] *Mahavamsa* Verse, 189.
[38] *Savatra Puna vijayo Pritiraso so,* R. E. XIII.

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much of an imperialist to think of a rendition of Kalinga even though he could shed a pool of tears at her defeat. Perhaps it would have been better if in dealing with the proud people of Kalinga having a keen sense of freedom and patriotism Asoka should have treated them as allies rather than ruled them as subjects. The people seem to have tacitly acquiesced in their plight but they must have cherished a deep resentment in their hearts against the imperialism of Magadha. Asoka no doubt was conscious of the situation and he took every possible care for the work of healing and consolidation. The R.E.xiii which contains a detailed account of the Kalinga was not allowed to be engraved anywhere in Kalinga with the view that the inhuman nature of the war should not be presented to her people to remind them of their humiliating defeat in it. It was clearly a matter of political expediency and not a result of the sense of shame and remorse of Asoka as Dr. Bhandarkar[39] thinks. The same political considerations seem to have induced him to engrave the two Special Kalinga Edicts which expressed his earnest and sincere desire of reconciliation with the people of Kalinga as well as with the Atavikas[40] and of providing lawful protection and safeguard among his new subjects against official high handedness. The Asokan regime was essentially a paternalism bent on providing a cure-all tonic for the people through administrative reforms. So in order to ensure peace and consolidation the official machinery of Kalinga was carefully overhauled and the emperor reserving for himself a complete authority never ceased to push the lever. The Kumara viceroy at Tosali was not allowed to exercise unfettered power as it was in the case of the Kumaras stationed at Ujjayini and Taksasila.[41] The latter were empowered to send on tour the mahamatras of their own every three years, whereas, in Kalinga such Mahamatras were to be deputed not by the Tosali Kumara but by Asoka himself.[42] In Sp.K.Es. the Kumaras at Ujjayini and Taksasila are referred to by Asoka independently by themselves, but the Kumara at Tosali is mentioned not by himself but in association with his mahamatras or ministers.[43] This clearly shows that the viceroy of Kalinga enjoyed limited power, his authority being checked and balanced by a council of ministers. Moreover, unlike the viceroys at Ujjayini and Taksasila, even the Viceroy in council of Kalinga were not trusted with supreme authority and we find the direct hand of Asoka in the affairs of internal administration of this

[39] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 25.

[40] Somapa was situated towards the borders of the Atavika country and so the edicts of this place had special significance to the Atavika people.

[41] Sp. Kalinga Ed. I; Dr. B. M. Barua, *Asoka and his Inscr.*, Pp. 189-90.

[42] Sp. Kalinga Ed. I.

[43] *Ibid.*

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province. Thus in S.R.E., I, Asoka issues admonitions and instructions directly to the Nagalaviyohalakas and other high officials and not through the Kumara in council of Kalinga. The maintenance of law and order in the newly conquered state was considered to be a bounden duty and the provincial officers and city judiciaries were chastised for their practice of sudden arrest (*akasma vandhana*), coercion (*pariklesa*) and imprisonment (*vandhanamtika*) as well as for their high-handed dealings with the people. An enlightened political thinker as he was, Asoka expounded in his edicts the main principles of Dandaniti and for the inculcation of the officials enumerated the necessary, as well as the baneful practices that would go to make a successful administrator. The positive virtues essential for them were, according to him, little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, moral purity, gentleness and nobleness; whereas the baneful qualities to be avoided by them consisted in wrath, conceit, malignity, irascibility, fierceness, cruelty and oppressiveness.[44]

Evidently in Kalinga Asoka seems to have laid more stress on promulgation of Rajadharma, consisting of the politico-moral principles than on propounding the Buddhist Upasaka dharma, with its guiding principles of socio-moral order.

THE CHETIS—KHARAVELA

The political condition of Kalinga after Asoka is not known for certain and the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela[45] indicates that at the decline of the Mauryas Kalinga assumed her independence under a new Mahameghavahana or Cheti dynasty. Kharavela the 3rd. ruler of this dynasty, who flourished sometimes in the 1st. century B.C.[46] is considered to be one of the greatest rulers in the history of India. Although a Jaina, he never scrupled to launch vigorous military campaigns all over India, and during the short span of his rule Kalinga became a strong and invincible power (*apatihata-chakra Vahana-bala*). In the second year of his reign he defied Satakarni, the Satavahana ruler, and struck terror into the hearts of the people of Asikanagara,[47] situated on the Krishna; while in the fourth year he followed up his success in the west and compelled the Rathikas and Bhojakas to pay him homage. The chief aim of Kharavela

[44] Sp. Kalinga Ed. I also pillar Eds. II and III.

[45] Cunningham, *Corp. Ins. Ind.* I., Pp. 77 ff.; 98-101; 132 ff; Luders *List* No. 1345; K. P. Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., III, p. 425, ff; IVP. 364 ff; XIII p. 221 ff. XIV p. 150 ff; K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerjee Ep Ind. XX. P. 72 ff.; B. M. Barua *Old Brahmi Inscriptions* No. I.

[46] The date of Kharavela is unfortunately highly controversial. If the expression ti-vasa-Sata of L. 6 of Hatigumpha inscr. means 103, he may be placed in the 2nd Century B.C. But if it means 300, he is to be assigned to the 1st. Century B.C.

[47] Read as Musika Nagara by Jayaswal and Banerji.

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was probably the retaliation of the conquest of Kalinga by Asoka for which in the eighth year of his reign he stormed Goratha Giri, a stronghold of Magadhan army and harassed the people of Rajagriha. But, on this occasion he had to spare the capital Pataliputra, as he hotly pursued a retreating Yavana Chief[48] upto Mathura. After this, the northern Indian campaigns were postponed for about three years and Kharavela turned his attention towards the south. In the eleventh year he ploughed the old city of Pithunda by ass-drawn ploughs and broke a confederacy of the Tamil princes, amongst whom the most eminent was the king of the Pandyas. Thus securing his power in the south, he directed his armies towards upper India in the twelfth year of his reign, and created consternation among the people of Magadha while watering his elephants and horses in the Ganges. He compelled Brihaspati Mitra, King of Magadha to bow down at his feet[49] and as a trophy of his victory brought back the image of the Kalinga Jina[50] (which had been taken away from Kalinga by king Nanda) along with large booty from Anga and Magadha.

Thus, Kharavela, like a Brahmanical ruler, followed the conventional policy of digvijaya and fostered a strong martial spirit among the people of Kalinga, although he was an ardent Jaina and a great patron of Jainism. He also showed scant regard for the Jaina principle of poverty and he not only acquired the wealth of Anga and Magadha but also received abundant supplies of pearls, gems, jewels and various kinds of apparels as tribute from the Pandyan king and filled up his store-houses with valuable treasures brought from the Vidyadhara abode. In these respects there exists a marked difference between Asoka and Kharavela and the Maurya monarch who eschewed wars after victory, is never known to have collected booty and treasures from his subjugated territories. The socio-religious policy of these two rulers also presents a striking contrast. While Asoka forbade the joyous gatherings and festivities in his empire.[51] Kharavela never refrained from entertaining his subjects not only by means of songs, instrumental music, and dancing but also by merry gatherings and organisation of sports and feats.[52] As a typical example of the pomp and pageantry of the period of Kharavela in contrast with the puritanic placidity of the Asokan age reference may be made to the record of the seventh year of his reign when he caused a hundred kinds of pompous parade of

[48] The word 'Yavana Raja' can be clearly read in L. 8 although Dr. Barua denies it. The name of this Yavana King is, however, not legible at all.

[49] *Bahasatimitam pade vandapayati.*

[50] The reading of Barua as 'Kalinga Jana' cannot be accepted ; 'Kalinga Jina' can be clearly read in the inscr.

[51] Rock Ed. I of Asoka, Hultzch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.* I, P. 1 ff.

[52] *Dapa-nata-gita-vadita-sadasamnahi usava samaga karapanahi cha kidapayati nagarim.*

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swords, umbrellas, flags, chariots, guards and horses, as well as all ceremonies of victory at the cost of some hundred thousand coins.[53] It may also be pointed out that although these two rulers are well known for their principles of religious toleration, they differ from one another in executing these principles into action. Asoka, for instance, has a complete programme of his policy of toleration and he encourages the religious communities to develop the essential elements in all by free and frequent discussions and at the same time recommends for them restraint of speech, respect for others' sentiments and growth of amity and concord.[54] But Kharavela has no such programme to meddle with in the religious problems of the people and he follows a policy of detachment and non-interference, although he vaguely declares himself as the 'worshipper of all denominations' and 'the repairer of all temples of the deities.'[55] It should, however, be remembered that Kharavela was a Jaina by birth and was not a convert like Asoka and this probably explains all fundamental differences that existed between these two monarchs.

Although Kharavela did not take religion as seriously as Asoka did, he was without doubt a great patron of the cause of Jainism, and during his rule this religion could attain the highest development in Kalinga. He rescued from Magadha the image of the Kalinga Jina, to which was intimately attached the affection and honour of the royal family, as well as of the people of Kalinga. He also brought from Mathura the Kalpa Vriksa, burdened with foliage in a triumphant procession to Kalinga and unsparingly entertained the Jaina recluses and householders both at home and abroad. Above all, in the thirteenth year of his reign he caused to be made a large number of caves by himself, by his queens, by his sons, by his relatives, by his brothers, and by the royal servants for the residence of the Arhats "desiring to rest their bodies."[56]

The meteoric career of Kharavela suddenly stopped with a glorious reign of only fourteen years, after which the warrior king either met with his death or retired from politics to join the order of the Jaina recluse. He was probably succeeded by his son Kudepasiri, who styles himself in a short inscription of his, inscribed on a raised band between the third and the fourth doors of the Manchapuri group of caves as Aira Maharaja Mahamegha —Vahana, and the overlord of Kalinga.[57] Some scholars[58] have suggested that Kalinga passed to the hands of the Satavahanas

[53] The record of the 7th year is very difficult to read. We depend upon Dr. Barua's reading.
[54] Vide the R. Ed. XII, of Asoka, Hultzch, *ibid.*, p. 64 ff.
[55] Hatigumpha inscr. L. 17.
[56] *Ibid.* L. 14.
[57] Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions.* No. III.
[58] Dr. H. K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa* (in Oriya) p. 30.

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after the decline of the house of Kharavela, but this cannot be the fact because the Satavahana power underwent a temporary eclipse since the time of Nayanika, wife of Satakarni, who is regarded as the contemporary of Kharavela, and it could not regain its sovereignty over Maharastra as late as the third decade of the 2nd. century A.D.[59] We cannot say with our present knowledge whether Kumara Vadukha (or Varikha) known from two short inscriptions in the Udaya Giri,[60] could succeed Kudepasiri or not; but early Tamil literature throws light upon the indigenous rulers of Kalinga who appear to be flourishing in the 1st. century of the Christian era. The Tamil epics, *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai* contain an account of a fratricidal war between the cousin rulers of two kingdoms in Kalinga with their respective capitals at Kapilapura and Simhapura, and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is of opinion that these two rulers were flourishing sometimes after the rule of Kharavela.[61] As a consequence of this war a famine is said to have supervened and devastated the entire territory of Kalinga, the aftereffect of which was felt for several centuries. If thus prepared the ground for the invasion of the foreign adventurers over Kalinga and in the 2nd. century A.D., this territory is found under the rule of the Murundas, a section of the Scythian tribes.

THE KUSHANS

Orissa was to all certainty outside the pale of the Kushan sphere of influence although some scholars are inclined to speculate the Kushan contact with Orissa on the ground of the discovery of the Imperial Kushan coins in many parts of this territory. Large hoards of imitation Kushan coins along with the coins of both Kaniska and Huviska have been brought to light in Ganjam, Puri, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Singhbhum districts and a few of them have been unearthed even in West Bengal.[62] Prof. Rapson[63] is inclined to ascribe some of these coins, probably the imperial ones, "to that part of the Kushan period which lies between the reign of Kanishka and the end", although according to him "their occurrence in these districts may be due to pilgrims who brought them from a distance as offerings at the shrines of

[59] The Nasik Cave inscr. of Gautamiputra Satakarni Dt. C. 130 A.D. proves his sovereignty over Maharastra. Vide *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 73, Sarkar *Select Inscr.* p. 193.

[60] Barua. *Old Brahmi Inscr.* No. IV and V.

[61] Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Anc. India and South Ind. Hist and Culture,* Vol. I, Pp. 401-02.

[62] For Kushan coins, see J.B.O.R.S. Vol. V. 1919, Pp. 83-84, Pl. II. 1. 3; *Ibid,* Pp. 73-81; Proceedings of the A.S.B., 1895, p. 63; Ind. Cul., III. Pp. 327-30; J.K.H.R.S., Vol. I, No. 4, Pp. 363-65; V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum,* Cal. Vol. I, Pp. 71-72; R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa,* I, p. 113.

[63] Rapson, *Indian Coins,* p. 14.

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Puri." The assumptions of Prof. Rapson as well as of Dr. Hoernle[64] that these coins were intended for temple offerings at the famous Hindu shrine at Puri, are dependent on the fact that Puri was, as it is to-day, a famous place of pilgrimage commanding India-wide reputation as early as the times of Kaniska and his successors. Their assumptions have, however, been undermined not so much by the enigmatic role of Jagannath in the ancient history of Orissa, as by the conspicuous fact that the imperial coins having on the obverse the standing figures of either Kaniska or Huviska and on the reverse the conventional Mao (Mhpo) Aepo and Oado, have been found out in a wide area from Chhotanagpur to Ganjam, and what is so important, in a very large quantity, the Mayurbhanj hoard alone containing 112 of them out of 282.[65] While the cautious suggestions of Hoernle and Rapson appear unconvincing, the bold speculation of S. K. Bose[66] on the basis of these coins that "the wave of Kushan conquest rolled far to the east of Mathura and Baneras and did not stop before it swept Bihar and Bengal" is quite unwarranted by historical facts. Archaeological evidences are utterly lacking for the supposition of the Kushan government to the east of Banaras and although the Tibetan[67] and Chinese[68] writers represent Kaniska as having reduced the cities of Saketa and Pataliputra, there is little convincing proof to show the actual extension of his empire as far east as Magadha. The discovery of the Karenki coins in Ghazipur and Gorakhpur like their discovery in Orissa and Chhotanagpur is in itself an inadequate help for arriving at a conclusion, as coins very often appear deluding to the historians and the archaeologists alike because of their constant transactions and shifting of places in association with the commercial activities of the people. If the eastern boundary of the Kushan empire cannot be traced as far east as Pataliputra, it is idle to think of its extension upto Bengal and Orissa only on the basis of numismatic evidence.

THE MURUNDAS

But it seems impossible to ignore the overwhelming literary evidences of a foreign domination in eastern India in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries A.D. We know these foreigners as Murundas who according to the Puranas succeeded the Tukharas (Kushans) and thirteen of their kings ruled for a period of 200 years in India along with the Mlecchas.[69] The Jaina literature unmistakably locates the Murundas in the eastern India with their capital at Pataliputra though at times they also speak of Kanyakuvja as the

[64] Proceedings, of the A.S.B., 1895, p. 63.
[65] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* Vol. I, p. 113.
[66] *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 729.
[67] & [68] Ep. Ind. XIV. p. 142; Ind. Ant. 1903, p. 382.
[69] F. E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford 1913) p. 46.

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capital city. The *Simhasanadvatrimsika*[70] informs us that a Murundaraya was the king of Kanyakuvja, whereas the *Brihat Kalpa Vrtti*[71] refers to a Murunda king of Pataliputra whose widow had embraced Jainism. We further know from the Jaina tradition[72] that Siddhasena, the famous preceptor of Vikramaditya of Ujjain and Padalipta, who is known to have cured King Murunda of Pataliputra of a terrible headache, were both contemporary to one another and on this basis the Murunda rule in Magadha may be ascribed to the middle of the 1st. Century A.D. According to the Greek Geographer Ptolemy[73] (2nd. Century A.D.) "the Maroundai occupied an extensive territory which comprised Trihut and the country southward on the east of the Ganges as far as the head of its delta, where they bordered with the Gangaridae." Chinese annals[74] also seem to have preserved the record of the Murunda rule in eastern India as late as the 3rd. century A.D. The Chinese ambassadors K'ang Tai and Chou-Ying sent to Funan by the Emperor Souen-Kiuan (222-251 A.D.) of the Wou dynasty met the Indian ambassador Chen-Song at the Funanese Court and on asking him of some particulars on India got the following information.

"That is a country where the Law of Buddha prospers. The people there are straightforward and the land is very fertile. The title of the king is Meouloun. The capital has a double enclosure of ramparts. Streams and sources of water supply are divided into a large number of winding canals which flow into the ditches under the walls (of the city), and thence into a great stream. The palaces and temples are adorned with sculptured and engraved decorations. To the right and left there are six great kingdoms, those of Kia-Wei (Kapila Vastu?), Che-Wei (Sravasti?) etc."[75] The territory as described by the Indian ambassador is likely to be the kingdom of Magadha and the description of its capital city reminds us of the splendour of Pataliputra. The title Meouloun of the Indian ruler as pointed out by Prof. Sylvain Levi[76] phonetically corresponds closely to the name Murunda and thus the Greek and the Chinese accounts together with the Jaina and the Puranic traditions are in agreement with the fact that the eastern India was under the rule of this foreign race during the first three centuries of the Christian Era. Dr. P. C. Bagchi[77] very ably suggests that the Murundas had come to India along with the Tukharas (Kushans) and that they had set up a king-

[70] P. C. Bagchi, Presidential Address, I. H. Congress, 6th Session, 1943.
[71] Quoted in the *Abhidhana Rajendra* II, p. 726.
[72] Indian Culture, III, p. 49.
[73] I. A. XIII. p. 377.
[74] S. Levi, "*Melanges, Charles De, Harlez*" Pp. 176-185.
[75] B. R. Chatterji, "*Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*" **Pp. 17-18**, S. Levi, *Ibid.*
[76] S. Levi, *Ibid.*
[77] P. C. Bagchi, *Ibid.*

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dom in eastern India first as vassals of the Tukharas and then on their downfall as independent rulers. Thus, they seem to have filled up the long gap in the political history of India from the downfall of the Imperial Kushans to the rise of the Imperial Guptas and, they are known to have acknowledged the overlordship of the latter along with the Devaputras, Shahis, Sahanu Shahis and the Sakas.[78] The Khoh copper plate inscription[79] informs us that the mother of the Maharaja Sarvanatha of Ucchakalpa was a Murundasvamini and thus the Murundas may be associated with the ruling powers of the Vindhyan territories even as late as 6th. Century. A.D.

These Murundas appear to have invaded Orissa and ruled there for some time and to them may plausibly be ascribed the large number of Kushan coins discovered in Chhotnagpur and Orissa. Very probably they circulated the Imperial Kushan coins at the time when the Kushan power was in ascendency and after the downfall of that power they naturally issued the imitation ones. The Murunda invasion of Orissa finds corroboration in the *Madlapanji*, the Jagannath temple chronicle in which mention has been made of a Maghul invasion of that territory long before the advent of the Kesari dynasty. The temple Chronicle records that at the beginning of the Kali Yuga eighteen kings of the lunar dynasty starting with Yudhisthira of epic fame, ruled for 3,781 years and during the reign of Sobhanadeva, the penultimate ruler of this dynasty, Rakta Vahu the amura (general) of the Mughal Patisa (Padshah) invaded and ravaged Orissa, after which the Mughals held the kingdom for a period of 146 years till they were ousted by Yajatikesari, the founder of the Kasari dynasty in 474 A.D.[80] Although the records of the *Madalapanji* have been embellished by the admixture of various local and epic traditions, their historical value cannot easily be ignored and at times they even become the only possible source of light to illuminate the dark chapters of Orissan history. It is, however, true that the chroniclers have exhibited here their colossal ignorance of the Puranic texts according to which 32 kings had reigned over Kalinga untill the last of them was defeated and exterminated by Mahapadma Nanda.[81] But the account of a foreign invasion and

[78] Fleet, *Corp, Insc. Ind.* III, P. 6 ff.

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 126 ff.

[80] JB.O.R.S. XIII, 1927, Pp. 10-14; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Pp. 110-111.

For Madala Panji, Vide *An Account—Geographical Statistical and Historical—of Orissa proper or Cuttack* by A Stirling published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825.

If the Kesari dynasty be identified with the Soma-Vansa of Kosala, which at present is a generally accepted fact, Yajatikesari cannot be placed earlier than the 10th Century A.D. Thus, the accounts of the temple chronicle must be taken with a grain of salt.

[81] Pargitor, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 180; R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 59.

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that of a foreign rule over Orissa for about a century and a half prior to the coming of the Kesaris do not appear to be the mere figment of imagination of the chroniclers, and this seems to carry with it a wealth of historical evidence which should be properly evaluated. R. D. Banerji[82] has tried to explain the presence of the Kushan coins in Orissa by assuming the Moghul invasion of the *Madalapanji* to be the same as the Kushan invasion, but as we have already shown, the Kushan empire is not known to have extended beyond Banares in the east, and so our suggestion of the Murunda occupation of Orissa may not be wide of the mark specially when there are ample evidences of the Murunda rule in eastern India during the first three centuries of the Christian Era.[83]

At the opening of the 4th century A.D. Kalinga was under the rule of a Buddhist King named Guhasiva, who was a contemporary of Mahasena (277—304 A.D.) the king of Ceylon. According to the Puranas[84] Guha was ruling over Kalinga, Mahendra and Mahisha at the time when the Guptas were enjoying the territory along the Ganges including Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha. Thus, Guhasiva flourished prior to the time of Samudra Gupta, who is known to have extended the Gupta empire far beyond the Gangetic valley. It is difficult to say whether Guha was a Murunda king or not, but according to

[82] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa,* p. 113.

[83] In course of the archaeological excavation conducted at Sisupalgarh, near Bhuvanesvara, in 1948, a copper coin of Huviska in a worn-out condition was found about 5½ feet below the surface, and a gold coin bearing the motif of Vasudeva I on the obverse and a Roman bust on the reverse "was recovered from the foundations of a wall. the floor level of which is about 3 ft. below the surface." On strategraphical basis, these two coins have been dated to last quarter of the 2nd century A.D. and the second-third quarter of the 3rd century A.D. respectively, a fact quite in agreement with other historical considerations. The gold coin ascribed to the 3rd century A.D. contains a legend on the reverse the reading of which as suggested by Dr. A. S. Altekar is -(ma) (Hara) Ja-ra (ja) dhasa Dhama-dama-dhara(sa), intended to stand for "Maharaja-rajadhiraja-Dharma dama dharasya" and the king according to this scholar "may well have been a Jaina and belonged to the Murunda family, which may have ruled over a portion of Bihar and also of Orissa." Thus, this archaeological evidence also suggest the supremacy of the Murundas over Orissa in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The recovery of the copper coin of Huviska in a layer ascribable to the last quarter of the 2nd century A D. may be said to be the earliest limit of the period of this Murunda supremacy, the latest limit of which is properly represented by the presence of the so-called Puri Kushan coins in the latest levels of this excavated site, "to which a date of about the middle of the fourth century A.D. can be assigned." So, on the evidences gathered from the excavation at Sisulpalgarh the Murunda rule over Orissa may tentatively be established from the last quarter of the 2nd. century A.D. to about the middle of the fourth century A. D., a period which somewhat differs from the statement of the Jagannath temple chronicle discussed above. according to which the rule of the Moghuls (Murundas) in Orissa lasted for 146 years prior to 474 A.D.

[84] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* Pp. 53-54.

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Dathavamsa his overlord was Pandu the King of Pataliputra, who is believed to be a Murunda ruler. A liberal monarch, Guhasiva cherished strong aversion to war and bloodshed and had superstitious confidence in the magical powers of the Tooth relic of Buddha, treasured in his capital Dantapura since the time of the Great Decease. He was at the beginning a subordinate of king Pandu but with the rise of the Gupta power in Magadha he appears to have become independent and subsequently his territory was invaded by a neighbouring king named Kshiradhara, whose identity remains yet uncertain, in order to take away by force of arms the famous Tooth relic. But before he fell fighting in the battle, Guha sent away the sacred Tooth in the custody of his daughter Hemamala and son-in-law prince Danta Kumara of Ujjain, to the court of his friend Mahadisena, king of Ceylon. When the Tooth reached Ceylon Sirimegha Vanna, the son and successor of Mahadisena was already enjoying his nineth regnal year, and he received the precious offer with due honour and respect.[85] The Tooth has remained an object of great devotion to the people of the island.

THE GUPTAS

Orissa in the middle of the 4th century A.D. was divided into a number of independent and semi-independent principalities, her territorial integrity having been shattered with the fall of Guhasiva. This traditional weakness naturally provoked Magadha, her traditional foe who was then just bidding for an imperial career under the war-like Guptas, to aggrandise at her cost. Samudra Gupta, the greatest of the Gupta rulers, mobilised the military resources of the growing Magadhan empire towards the South and leapt headlong into the land of Kalinga, through South Kosala and the trackless forests of Mahakantara. Mahendra of Kosala, Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara, Mantaraja of Korala, Mahendragiri of Pistapura, Swamidatta of Kothura, Damana of Erandapalla, and Kuvera of Devarashtra were some of his Orissan contemporaries, who according to the evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription made an acquiescence of his crowning triumph.[86] The question as to why Samudra Gupta avoided the more practical route along the eastern coast through the present Balasore and Cuttack districts and marched through the impenetrable jungles and mountains of Central India and Orissa upland, and at last appeared in the Ganjam district through a circuitous track, cannot be satisfactorily explained ; and in this connection the omission of the names of Utkala, Tosala and Kalinga in the inscription mentioned above, appears significant. The inscription being a royal panegyric composed by the court poet

[85] Vide *Datha Vamsa*, ed. by B. C. Law.

[86] Fleet, *Corp. Ins. Ind.* III, P. 6 ff.

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Harisena, its authenticity is rightly questioned by many famous scholars,[87] specially because the Daksinapatha campaign of the Gupta Emperor lacks corroboration in History.

No other rulers of the house of the Guptas followed the footsteps of Samudra Gupta in making any military venture towards the South, and the Gupta influences that penetrated the Deccan are known to be of matrimonial, commercial and cultural contact. The matrimonial alliances of the Guptas with the Vakatakas of Berar,[88] and the Kadambas of Vanavasi ;[89] the use of the Gupta era in the Halsi plates of Kadamba Kakustha Varman,[90] and the Arang plates of Bhimasena of South Kosala ;[91] the imitation Gupta coin types found in the Khairtal hoard of King Mahendraditya of South Kosala,[92] and the discovery of the Satara hoard[93] are some of the significant vestiges of the Gupta influence in the South. The cultural contact between the Gupta rulers and the Deccan princess, may also be illustrated in the activities of the great poet Kalidasa who is said to have enjoyed the patronage of Pravarasena II Vakataka, as well as of Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya, and also is supposed to have acted as the Imperial ambassador of the Guptas in the Court of Kuntaleswara Varman.[94]

Orissa probably did not form a part of the Gupta empire, but traces of the Gupta influence can be found in this territory as in the case of the Deccan. The Ganjam copper plate inscription[95] of Madhava Varman II of the Sailodbhava dynasty, the Soro and the Patia Kela copper plates[96] of king Sambhuyasas of Tosala both north and south, and the recently discovered Kanasa plate[97] of Loka Vigraha and the Sumandala plates[98] of Prthivi Vigraha and Dharmaraja, are all dated in the Gupta era, and hence, they point to Gupta influence in

[87] Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, P. 60 ; B. V. Krishna Rao. *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, P. 373.

[88] Rudrasena II the Vakataka king married Prabhavati Gupta, the daughter of Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya.

[89] Vide the Talgunda Pillar inscr. of Santivarman ; Ep. Ind. VIII, P. 33 ff. Verse 31. It is stated that a daughter of Kakustha Varman adorned the royal family of the Imperial Guptas.

[90] D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, P. 225.

[91] Hiralal, *Descriptive Lists*, P. 100, No. 127.

[92] J.N.S.I., X, P. 137 ff.

[93] Raichaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.* 4th ed.,Pp. 475, Fn. 2, 480.

[94] The historic embassy is mentioned in Bhoja's *Srungaraprakasika*. See K. Bala Subrahmanya Aiyer's article in Madras Orient. Conf. Proceedings (1924) P. 6 ff ; also the illuminating article of H. Haras : "The relations between the Guptas, Kadambas, and Vakatakas," in J.B.O.R.S. XII, P. 459 ff.

[95] Ep. Ind. VI, P. 143 ff.

[96] *Ibid.*, XXIII, P. 197 ; IX, 285.

[97] J.K.H.R.S. Vol. III, Jan. 1950, P. 261 ff.

[98] For the Sumandala plates of Prthivi Vigraha, vide Manorama, Vol. I Prt. I (Asadha. Saka 1871) Pp. 18—24. For the Sumandala plates of Dharma Raja See O.H.R.J. Vol. I, No. 1, P. 66 ff.

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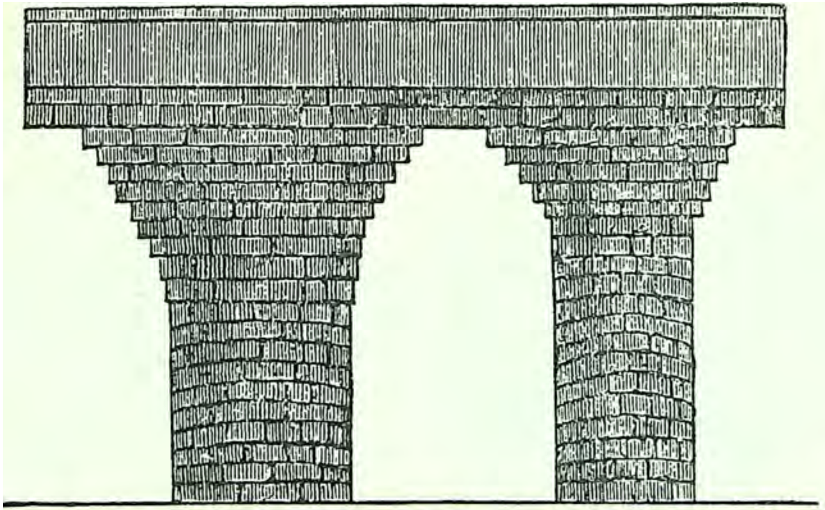

THE HINDU ARCH

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Orissa. But it should be noted here that all these instriptions were issued during a period when the empire of the Guptas ceased to exist and, as such, the mere use of the Gupta era may not imply the existence of Gupta suzerainty in Orissa. Besides the use of the era, there is no other evidence, numismatic, archaeological or literary, to warrant the possibility of the Gupta rule over Orissa ; and so this land may be said to have remained outside the empire of the Guptas.

As pointed out above, Orissa by this time was not a unitary land, it being consisted of various independent states of considerable power and extent, which were mainly as follows. Kalinga in the South extending as far as the Godavari ; Kangoda on the north of Kalinga comprising modern Ganjam and parts of Puri district ; Tosala, both north and south, the former being the Soro region in Balasore district and the latter the territory round Dhauli in Puri and Cuttack districts ; and Kosala in the west consisting of the modern districts of Raipur, Bilaspur, Sambalpur and portions of the Western Garjats of Orissa. It is therefore desirable to present the history of the period on more or less regional basis, although very often the political movements in the one overlapped those of the others.

(A) KALINGA

The Pitrbhaktas

Samudra Gupta's expedition seems to have simplified the political map of Kalinga, and almost immediately after the upheaval she appeared in History as a stronger state than before. Two important families, perhaps branches of the same dynasty, suddenly raised up their heads almost contemporaneously—one known as the Pitrbhakta (devoted to father) in northern Kalinga with Simhapura as capital, and the other known as the Matharas (devoted to mother?) in Southern Kalinga with its headquarters at Pistapura. A Maharaja named Chandra Varman of the Pitrbhakta family who styled himself as Kalingadhipati (lord of Kalinga), is known to us from the Komarti[99] and the Tiritthana[100] copper plate grants which were issued in the 4th and the 6th years of his reign respectively. Another ruler of this family named Uma Verman, probably the son of Chandra Varman, is also known from the Dhavalapeta,[101] Tekkali[102] and the Brhatprostha[103] grants which were issued by him from his residences at Sunagara, Vardhamanapura and Simhapura

[99] Ep. Ind. IV, P. 142 ff.
[100] A.S.I., 1934—35, P. 64.
[101] J. A. H. R. S., X Pp. 143—44.
[102] *Ibid.*, VI, P. 53 ff.
[103] Ep. Ind., XII, Pp. 4—

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respectively. It appears, however, that the victorious Simhapura was the capital city of the king whereas the other two were either his secondary capitals or his temporary residences. A third ruler Maharaja Nanda Prabhanjana Varman, known from the Chicacole Grant[104] issued his charters from the victorious camp (Vasaka) Sarapallika and styled himself as the "Sakala Kalingadhipati" (lord of the entire Kalinga), a title more dignified than that of Chandra Varman.

The Matharas

A struggle for supremacy over Kalinga seems to have been going on between the Pitrbhaktas of Simhapura and the Matharas of Pistapura. The Ragolu plates[105] issued from Pistapura by Maharaja Vasisthiputra Sakti Varman, the lord of Kalinga and the ornament of the Mathara family, record a land grant near Chicacole, pointing out thereby the triumph of the Matharas over the Pitrbhaktas. The Mathara victory is confirmed by the Sakunaka plate[106] of Maharaja Ananta Sakti Varman, the ornament of the Mathara family, and probably a son of Sakti Varman, who issued the charter in the regnal year 28, from Simhapura, once the capital of the Pitrbhaktas. That the Maharaja was the immediate successor of Sakti Varman is known from the fact that apparently the same man, Amatya Arjunadatta of the Ragolu charter, is mentioned in the Sakunaka grant of Ananta Sakti Varman with a more dignified title—Desaksapataladhikrta talavara.

The Vasisthas

The Pitrbhaktas were defeated but not crushed. They seem to have shifted their seat of authority from northern Kalinga to Devarastra, identified with modern Vizagapatam district, where they apparently called themselves as Vasisthas. The noticeable fact is that while the Matharas assumed the metronymic epithet "Vasisthiputra", this new family is known by the patronymic form "Vasistha" which indicates a sort of close affinity between these two families. From the Srungavarapukota[107] and Sripuram[108] grants assigned to the end of the 6th Century A.D. on palaeographic considerations, we know of three rulers of the Vasistha family viz. Maharaja Guna Varman, his son Maharaja Prabhanjana Varman, and the latter's son Parama Mahesvara Ananta Verman. The Vasistha King Prabhanjana Varman seems to be the same as the Pitrbhakta Nanda Prabhanjana Varman who assumes the proud title of Sakala Kalingadhi-

104 Ind. Ant., XIII, Pp. 48—50.
105 Ep. Ind., XII, Pp. 1—3.
106 A.S.I. *Op. Cit.* P. 65.
107 Ep. Ind. XXIII, P. 56 ff.
108 New Hist. of the Indian people, VI, P. 80.

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pati, suggesting his victory over the Matharas, as well as his supremacy over the entire Kalinga country.

THE EASTERN GANGAS

Sometimes after Maharaja Ananta Varman, the last known ruler of the Vasistha family, the Eastern Gangas appeared in Northern Kalinga and established themselves in Kalinganagara (perhaps the same as the modern Mukhalingam) about 496 A.D. which is supposed by some scholars to be the initial year of the Ganga era.[109] Almost about the same time Southern Kalinga felt the aggression of the rising Visnu-kundins and the Ramatirtham[110] and the Chikkulla[111] plates of Indra Varman and Vikramendra Varman (II) respectively make us believe that the Pithapuram region which was the stronghold of the Vasisthas passed to the hands of that power. For a time, however, both the Visnukundins and the Eastern Gangas submitted to the aggressive imperialism of the Vakataka emperor Harisena (C. 475—510 A. D.), who according to the Ajanta inscription[112] extended his sphere of influence over Gujrata, Malava, Kosala, Andhra, Kalinga and Kuntala provinces. But the Vakataka power steadily waned with the death of Harisena, after which both the Visnukundins and the Eastern Gangas were left face to face against each other in Kalinga region. The issue was decided in favour of the Eastern Gangas sometimes about 535 A.D. when Indra Varman I defeated the Visnukundin ruler Indrabhattaraka and occupied the whole of Kalinga.[113] But the political career of the Eastern Gangas could not acquire a favourable and uninterrupted growth as ambitious dynasties appeared in the scene to challenge their power in Kalinga. The recently discovered Kanasa plates of Sri Loka Vigraha Bhatta Maha-

[109] The initial year of the Ganga era is a great controversial issuse in History. G. Ramdas proposes the year 349 A.D. (Ind. Ant. XIII, P. 128 ff; XVI, P. 131 ff; J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, Pp. 272—95); while Mr. R. Subba Rao fixes it sometimes between 492 and 496 A.D. (J.A.H.R.S., V, Pp. 267—76). B. V. Krishna Rao in his "*Early Dynasties of Andhradesa* (Pp. 578--92) concludes that the first year of the Ganga era ends in 498 A. D. and Dr. D. C. Sarkar thinks that 496—97 A.D. is the initial year of it (*Select Inscriptions* P. 458, Fn.). According to Somasekhara Sarma, the Ganga era starts in 504—05 A.D. (Ind. Cult., IX. P. 148), whereas S. N. Rajguru asserts that it starts from 626—27 A.D. (J.K.H.R.S. Vol. I, Pp. 29—50). We have accepted here the year 496 A.D. as the initial year of this era, although it can not be regarded at present as a conclusive fact. See in this connection, Ind. Ant., LXV. P. 237 ff.; Ind. Cult., IV, P. 508 ff.

[110] Ep. Ind. XII, Pp. 133—136.

[111] *Ibid.*, IV, P. 193 ff.

[112] Hyd. Arch. Surv. No. 14, P. 11.

[113] See the Jirjingi Copper plate grant of Indra Varman dated in Ganga year 39, J.A.H.R.S., III, P. 47 ff; Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscr.* P. 458ff. Dr. Sircar thinks that Ganga era started from the first regnal year of King Indra Varman of this grant.

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samanta[114] reveals the fact that in the Gupta year 200, i.e. in A.D. 519, this chief was ruling over the eighteen kingdoms of Tosala, which by that time extended as far as Ganjam in the South. Thus the rising Eastern Gangas had to face an ambitious power in the north in their bid for asserting supremacy over Kalinga. The Sumandala plates of Sri Prithivi Vigraha,[115] the rular of "Kalinga Rastra" in Gupta year 250. A.D. 569-70, clearly shows that the Vigrahas by that time could overpower the Eastern Gangas and deprive them of the suzerainty over the whole of Kalinga.

The stalwart Vigrahas appeared in history to be melted away in obscurity immediately after the death of Prthivi Vigraha, which took place probably about 576 A.D. This is the year when Hasti Varman alias Ranabhita Rajasimha, Lord of Kalinga and a devotee of Gokarna, boasts of "having re-established the spotless family of the Gangas" in the entire Kalinga.[116] Thus, the Eastern Gangas could in the long run supersede the Vigrahas by Ganga year 80, and their authority over Kalinga is further proved by the Santabommali Charter issued by Adhiraja Indra Varman, the successor of Hasti Varman in Ganga year 87, in which he also styles himself like his father as the founder of the Ganga family.[117]

By the time when Hasti Varman and Indra Varman II were consolidating the sway of the Eastern Gangas in Kalinga, the Deccan was shaken by the tempest of the Chalukya invasion which even thundered the Southern gates of Kalinga. The rise of the Eastern Chalukyas of Batapi in the middle of the 6th century A.D. is an important landmark in the history of the Decan, as well as of India ; and the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa[118] declares that they were victorious in Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Asika, Pandya, Dramila, Aluka, Vaijayanti etc. which of course appears to be a much exaggerated claim. The great Pulakesin II succeeded his war-like uncle Mangalesa in 609 A.D. and made the Chalukyas the strongest power in the Deccan occupying it from sea to sea and between the Vindhyas and the Tungabhadra. His Aihole inscription dated 634 A.D.[119] gives a full account of his glorious imperial career, from which we come to know that he subdued the Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras: vanquished Harsha and drove him beyond the Vindhyas ; caused the Pallavas to hide behind the walls of Kanchipura ; and broke the pride of the Kalingas and

[114] J.K.H.R.S., *Op. Cit.*
[115] Manorama, *Op. Cit.*
[116] Vide the Urlam plates of Hasti Varma, Ep. Ind. XVII, Pp. 332—333.
[117] For the Santabommali Pl. of Indra Varman II See *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. IV, Pp. 21--24.
[118] Ind. Ant. XIX, Pp. 7—15.
[119] Ep. Ind. VI, P. 1

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the Kosala. The hero of the Chalukya invasion of Kalinga is known to be the hump-back Visnu Vardhana, the younger brother of Pulakesin II who became the overlord of that subjugated state with its headquarters at Pistapura.[120] He was probably the patron of the great poet Bharavi, whose famous work *Kiratarjuniyam* was written by this time.[121]

But the Ganga ruler Indra Varman II, who had been defeated by Visnu Vardhana, consolidated his strength in Northern Kalinga and continued fighting with the Chalukya prince with the result that the latter had to withdraw himself to the kingdom of Vengi in the South at the onslaught of the Gangas. His grandson Indra Varman III carired on the flight with Jaya Simha, the son of Vishnu Vardhana, for maintaining his hold over South Kalinga. Thus, the careers of these Ganga rulers were marked by constant wars with the Chalukyas in the South, while at the same time they had also to fight the Sailodbhavas of Kangoda in the North and the effects of all these wars must have been disastrous for Kalinga. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, who visited Kalinga during the reign of Indra Varman III was struck at the calamities which had decimated the population of that country and it appears that the protracted wars of the Gangas was mostly responsible for such disaster.

After Indra Varman III, the Ganga rulers became very weak and sank down to obscurity for about two centuries, and the various copper plate grants issued during this period present no history but the names of some kings, even the chronology of whom is difficult to determine. The Chalukyas continued to maintain their sway over South Kalinga and the Vengi region, and the Simachalam hill roughly demarcated their territory from that of the Gangas.

120 See J.A.H.R.S. IX, Prt. IV, p. 16.

121 See Avantisundari Katha in Q.J.M.S. XII, P. 10; and also summary of papers of the Fourth Orient. Conf. P. 44.

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GENEALOGY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA

Indravarma I. 39 Ganga Era

Rajasimha I

Hastivarma Rajasimha II, Ganaga Era 79, 80, 87

Indravarma II Rajasimha III, Ganga Era 87, 91

Danarnava

Indravarma III, Ganga Era 128, 137, 138, 143, 146, 149, 154, 176

Gunarnava

Devendravarma I, Ganga Era 183, 184, 192, 193, 195.

Anantavarma I, Ganga Era 204. — Jayavarma

Nandavarma, Ganga Era 221. — Devendra Varma II Ganga Era 254.

Rajendra Varma I

Anantavarma II, Ganga Era 284, 304. Loka Mahadevi — Devendra-varma III, Ganga Era 308, 310

Rajendra-varma, Ganga Era 313, 342. — Devendra-varma IV, Ganga Era 351

Satyavarma, Ganga Era 351. — Ananta-varma III Vajrahasta I, Ganga Era 354

Madhu Kamarnava alias Bhupendra Varma Marasimha

Ananta-varma Vajrahasta II Ganga Era 383. — Devendra-varma V Ganga Era 397.

(B) KANGODA

The Sailodbhavas

By the time when the Imperial Guptas were ruling over Northern India there appeared in Orissa a new kingdom named Kangoda, comprising the modern Ganjam and Puri districts. The name Kangoda is derived from the combination of the words, Kalinga and Oda, which is Kalingoda, and, as such, the Kingdom is known to have been formed out of the portions both of Kalinga and Oda countries. A new dynasty known as

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Sailodbhava, which played a very important role in the cultural and political history of Orissa in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D., is apparently responsible for the carving out of this new principality the rise and fall of which is closely associated with the fortune of the dynasty itself. The genealogy of the Sailodbhavas is furnished by the Buguda,[122] Puri[123] and Cuttack Meseum[124] Charters of Sainyabhita II Madhava Varman, who flourished in the period Cir. 610—30 A.D., and from that we also come to know that one Pulinda Sena, a famous chief of Kalinga, who is supposed to have belonged to the aboriginal tribe of the Pulindas, founded the rule of the Sailodbhavas in the Kangoda country. The beginning of the Sailodbhava rule over the newly founded Kangoda territory may tentatively be fixed to the period that followed the Dakshinapatha campaign of Samudra Gupta. The next ruler known to us from the genealogical portion of the inscriptions, is Sailodbhava, after whom the dynasty has been named. Unfortunately, the name Sailodbhava and the epithet *"Sila-Sakalodbhedi"* found in the formal preambles of the charters of the family, has led some scholars to take this ruler as a fictitious eponym, but there seems no reasonable difficulty in presuming this prince to be a historical person who has been so named possibly owing to his birth in a hilly region.

We know nothing about the immediate successors of king Sailodbhava and the ruler that flourished in the 6th Century A.D. are known to us simply by their names that occur in the copper plate grants of the latter Kings of the family. King Ranabhita, who flourished in the first half of the 6th Century A.D. is the earliest known ruler of this dynasty after Sailodbhava and from him we can confidently trace onwards the dynastic history of all the rulers of Kangoda. Ranabhita's son Sainyabhita Madhavaraja I and the latter's adopted son[125] Ayosobhita ruled successively throughout the 6th Century A.D. and early in the 7th Century Ayosobhita was succeeded by his son Sainyabhita Madhavaraja II, about whom we possess definite information from a large number of copper plate charters issued by him.

Sainyabhita Madhavaraja II of the Ganjam[126] and Khurdha[127] plates is identified by us with Sainyabhita II Madhava

[122] Ep. Ind. III, p. 43 ff.; VI, P. 144, N. 1; VII. P. 100 ff.
[123] Ep. Ind. XXIII, Pp. 122—131.
[124] Ep. Ind. XXIV, P. 148 ff.
[125] In the Ganjam and Khurdha grants Ayasobhita seems to have been represented as the son of Sainyabhita—Madhavaraja I, but other Charters (Buguda, Puri and Cuttack Museum grants) refer to him only as born in the family of Sainyabhita I, and so we take him as a member of the Sailodbhava family and an adopted son of Sainyabhita I.
[126] Ep. Ind. VI, P. 143 ff.
[127] J.A.S.B., LXXIII.

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Varman of the Buguda, Puri and Cuttack Museum charters.[128] The first two charters represent Maharaja Mahasamanta Sainyabhita Madhavaraja II as a feudatory of Sasanka, the arch enemy of Harshavardhana, whereas in the second set of charter he is represented as the conqueror of Kalinga and the performer of a horse-sacrifice. Besides, a Ganjam inscription, dated in the Ganga year 120 (C. 616—7 A.D.) records a land grant in Kangoda by the Ganga King Jayavarman of Svetaka, and further reveals the conquest of Kangoda by Ranaka Vishavarnava for Unmatta Kesari the Bhauma King of Tosala who reissued the land grant sometimes later.[129]

Thus, there appears to be going on a struggle between the Sailodbhavas and the Gangas at a very critical time when Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the General of the Great Pulakesin II occupied Kosala and Kalinga from the south and Sasanka, the powerful monarch of Karna Suvarna threatened the independence of Kangoda from the north. At this juncture the Sailodbhava ruler seems to have sought protection under Sasanka by acknowledging his overlordship some time before the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619).[130] But after the death of Sasanka he asserted his independence and occupied a portion of Kalinga in commemoration of which he also celebrated a horse-sacrifice some time before the 23rd year of his reign.[131]

Sainyabhita II Madhava Varman was succeeded by his son Ayasobhita Madhyamaraja, whose Parikud grants[132] issued in the regnal year 26 reveals that he was a very powerful king of the Sailodbhava Kula and that he celebrated the Vajapeya and the Asvamedha sacrifices to vindicate his power and pelf. Madhyamaraja was ruling over Kangoda when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the country about 639 A.D. and the records of the pilgrim amply testify to the power and glory of Kangoda during his time. The pilgrim says, "This country was above 1000 li in circuit, and its capital was above twenty li in circuit. The country contained some tens of towns which stretched from the slopes of the hills to the edge of the sea. As the towns were naturally strong there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and so there was no

[128] Some scholars think that the Buguda and the Puri grants of Sainyabhita II Madhava Varman are later than Khurdha and Ganjam records on account of palaeographical suggestions (Cf. J.A.H.R.S., X, P. 1 ff). But this cannot hold good because the Cuttack Museum grant is written in the script exactly similar to that of the Ganjam and Khurdha grants, and it presents the same genealogy as in the Buguda and Puri Charters. (Vide, *New Hist. of the Indian people*, Vol. VI, p. 83, F. n. 3).

[129] I.H.Q. XII, Pp. 492—93.

[130] See the Ganjam grant, Ep. Ind. VI, 143 ff.

[131] See the Puri grant issued in his 23rd regnal year, Ep. Ind. XXIII, Pp. 122—131.

[132] Ep. Ind., XI, PP. 281—87.

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powerful enemy. As the country was on the sea-side it contained many rare precious commodities; the currency was couries and pearls; and the country produced large dark coloured elephants which were capable of long journeys."[133]

In A.D. 634, the Pusyabhuti emperor Harsavardhana invaded Orissa and advanced as far south as Kangoda. We do not know whether his Kangoda invasion was crowned with success or not; but the Parikud plates of Madhyamaraja, the performer of horse-sacrifice, indicate that the Sailodbhava monarch was possibly not vanquished in the engagement.

Ayasobhita Madhyamaraja was succeeded by his son Dharmaraja Manabhita, whose Kondenda grant issued from Saumyapura[134] and the Puri grant issued from the city of Matrchandrataka[135] possess valuable materials for the dynastic history of the Sailodbhavas. It appears that after the death of Madhyamaraja, his younger son Madhava usurped the throne setting aside the claim of his elder brother Dharmaraja, which led to a terrible fratricidal war between the two brothers. The events of the war are graphically narrated in the Nivina[136] and the Kondenda grants, from which we come to know that Dharmaraja decisively defeated the usurper Madhava in the battle of Phasika and ascended the ancestral throne. Madhava saved his life by taking to flight and subsequently got shelter in the court of King Tivara of South Kosala, who was also an enemy of Dharmaraja. The alliance between Madhva and Tivara was no doubt a formidable danger with which Dharmaraja was faced while consolidating his newly earned Kingdom. Both of his rivals hastily mobilised their combined strength against Kangoda, but Dharmaraja crushingly defeated them in a bloody battle which took place at the foot of the Vindhyas. This victory greatly enhanced the power and prestige of the Sailodbhavas and gave a serious blow at the rising power of the Pandu Vamsis of Kosala.

After Dharmaraja Manabhita there were chaos and confusion in the Kangoda Kingdom and the Sailodbhava dynasty fast sank into decline. The rulers who succeeded Dharmaraja are all shadowy figures in the history of medieval Orissa who are known to us only by their names recorded in the genealogical portion of a fragmentary charter discovered in Tekkali. This Tekkali charter (unfortunately the first and the last plates of the charter are missing) was apparently issued by Madhyamarajadeva III, the last known ruler of the house of Sailodbhava and from this we are able to glean the following dynastic list of the later rulers of the family.[137]

133 Watters, II, P. 195.
134 Ep. Ind. XIX, Pp. 265—70.
135 J.B.O.R.S., XVI, P. 176 ff.
136 Ep. Ind., XIX, Pp. 265—70
137 J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, P. 165 ff.

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Madhyamarajadeva
|
Dharmaraja Manabhita
|
Madhyamrajadeva II — Allapraja

Madhyamrajadeva II
|
Ranakshobha

Allapraja
|
Yuvaraja Taillapanibha
|
Madhyamarajadeva III

The rising power of the Bhauma Kara dynasty in Tosala to the north of Kangoda, was probably responsible for the steady decline and the ultimate disappearance of the Sailodbhava and along with them the name of the territory of Kangoda was also wiped from the pages of subsequent history.

(C) Tosala: the Manas

The territory of Tosala extended from the borders of Kangoda in the south to those of Danadabhukti (modern Midnapur) in the north, covering the entire Orissan plain in between the Garjat high-lands and the Bay of Bengal. This vast territory was divided into Uttara Tosala and Daksina Tosala, the former comprising the modern Balasore district and the latter the northern half of Puri and the most part of Cuttack districts, the river Mahanadi forming the common boundary of the two divisions. We know very little about the history of this kingdom during the time when the Imperial Guptas were ruling over Magadha, but at the time of the decline of the Gupta power in the 6th century A.D. the Mana royal family is known to have extended its sway over this land. The Soro[138] and the Patia Kella[139] charters dated in the Gupta years 260 (=579 A.D.) and 283 (602 A.D.) respectively, record the rule of a powerful King named Maharaja Sambhu-Yasas over Daksina and Uttara Tosalas, who was a worshipper of Mahesvara and styled Paramadevatadhidaivata and Paramabhattaraka. This ruler has nowhere been mentioned as belonging to the Mana dynasty, but the Patia Kella charter records that his feudatory Maharaja Sivaraja of the Maudgalya family was ruling over a portion of Southern Tosala during the rule of the Mana dynasty implying thereby that the Paramabhattaraka Sambhuyasas was a Mono ruler. The Mono-power seems to have dwindled suddenly after Sambhuyasas, although traces of their rule of a later date, have come to light in central and Southern Bihar.[140] The name Manabhum of a

[138] For Soro grant See Ep. Ind. XXIII 197 ff.

[139] Patia Kella grant, Ep. Ind. IX 285 ff.

[140] An inscription of Saka 1059 (1137 A.D.) from Govindpur in the Gaya Dist. mentions the Mana Kings Varnamana and his successor Rudramana, who were patrons respectively of the Maga poets Manoratha, called Vyasa and Nava-Kalidasa, and his son, Gangadhara. See J.K.H.R.S. Vol. II, No. I, P. 40.

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district in Chhotanagpur carries with it till today the meomory of the Mana rule.

THE DATTAS

At the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Uttra Tosala then forming a part of the Odra Vishaya was under the rule of a family known as Datta. Somadatta, the probable founder of this new house and his successor Bhanudatta ruled over Utkala and Dandabhukti under the suzerainty of king Sasanka during the first quarter of the 7th century A.D., and scions of this family seem to be ruling over Utkala even after the death of their Gauda overlord in 625 A.D.(?)[141]. The conquest of Orissa bv Harshavardhana in 642 A.D. must have brought the downfall of the Dattas who were the allies of his arch enemy Sasanka. But the history of Tosala remains in obscurity for about a century after Harsha till the Bhaumakaras came into power in the 8th century A.D. During this time South Tosala was very probably under the rule of the Sailodbhavas and the Northerln Tosala was under a new dynasty to which may be attributed the coins recently discovered from the district of Balasore, bearing on the obverse the couchant bull and on the reverse the legend "Sri Nandasya". Satisfactory researches are yet to be done to bring to light the history of the region during this obscure period.

THE BHAUMAKARAS

A new and glorious phase in the history of Tosala starts with the coming into prominance of the Buddhist Bhaumakara dynasty about 736 A.D.[142] The origin of this new family is, however, shrouded in obscurity, and their suggested connection with the Naraka family of Assam appears unconvincing[143] It is known from the Puranic traditions that a king named Guha, whom we are tempted to identify with Guhasiva of the *Dathavamsa,* was ruling over the Kalingas, Mahishas and Mahendra Bhaumas,[144] and the last mentioned tribe appears to be the ancestors of the Bhauma ruling house of Orissa. That Guhasiva was a remote chief of the Bhauma-karas is evidenced by the fact that their capital city Viraja was named after him as Guhesvara Pataka, (also Guhadeva Pataka) implying that it was the seat of authority of the kings representing the lineage of Guhesvara (Guhasiva).

The genealogical portions of the Bhauma charters trace the anscestry of the family from one Lakshmikara, whose sucessor Maharaja Kshemankaradeva was a Paramapasaka i.e. a Bud-

[141] By the time of Yuan Chwang's visit (about 638 A.D.) this region was being ruled either by Bhanudatta or by some of his successors.

[142] This in our opinion is the initial year of the Bhauma era.

[143] Vide JRAS Vol. LXXXII, 1934, P. 1028.

[144] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* Pp. 53, 54.

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dhist. The son and successor of Kshemankara was Maharaja Sivakara I, who was also known as Maharaja Unmatta Simha identified with Unmatta Kesari of Viraja, who gave permission to his feudatory Ranaka Vishavarnava to reissue a charter in the Ganjam region, that was originally issued by the Ganga year 120.[145] This implies that Sivakara I Unmatta Simha was a powerful ruler and could carve out a far-flung empire to which he annexed the Kangoda territory by crushing the powers of the Sailodbhavas. He forcibly married in the Raksasa form his queen Jayavalidevi, who was the daughter of the king of Radha. He was without doubt the first great monarch of this dynasty and it would not be wide of the mark to suggest that the Bhauma era which begins from 736 A.D. was started by him. Sivakara I was a devoted Buddhist bearing the epithet 'Parama Tathagata' and he greatly patronisled Buddhist culture in Tosala. He was succeeded by his son Subhakara I who was a Prama Saugata (devout Buddhist) and is known to have erected lofty viharas. His Neulpur grant [146] is dated in the Bahuma era 54 i.e. 790 A. D. He was very probably the Buddhist king of the realm Wu-ch'a, whose name is represented in the Chinese records as "The fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion".[147] He sent to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong an autograph manuscript of the last section of the *Avatamsaka*, known as *Gandavyuha*, which was handed over to the emperor by his (Subhakara's) ambassador Prajna in 795 A.D., (the eleventh year of the period Cheng-Yuan, which extends from 785 to 805 A.D.).[148] As a ruler, Subhakarla I was more powerful than his father and he is known to have greatly enlarged the Bhauma territory and subdued the people of Kalinga in the south. His son Sivakara II who succeeded him, is known from his Chaurasi Charter,[149] dated in the year 73 (809 A.D.) as the master of both Uttara and Dakshina Tosalas, and he assumed the high-sounding titles of "Parama Bhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara". After Sivakara II the younger son of Subhakara I, known to us by his triple names, Santikara I, Gayada I and Lalitahara I, came to the throne sometimes before the year 93 (829 A.D.)[150] and on his death he was succeeded by his nephew Subhakara II, son of Sivakara II and queen Mohinidevi.[151] But Subhakara II was not destined to rule long and at his sudden death Subhakaradeva III surnamed Kusumahara I, and Simhadhvaja (also Simhaketu) occupied the Bhauma throne. He was

[145] I.H.Q. XII Pp. 492—93.
[146] Ep. Ind. XV. Pp. 1—8.
[147] *Ibid.* P. 364.
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] J.B.O.R.S. XIV Pp. 292—306.
[150] The Dhauli cave inscription of Santikaradeva's time is dated in the year 93.
[151] Journal of Oriental Research Institute Vol. XVIII Prt. I. P. 49.

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the son of Santikara I by his queen Goswamini, who is known as Tribhuvanamahadevi. The Hindol plate [152] of Subhakara III, dated in the year 103 (839 A.D.) registers the gift of the village Naddilo in the Kankaviravishaya in Uttara Tosala, at the request of a certain Pulindaraja in favour of the god Vaidyanatha Bhattaraka enshrined in the Pulindesvara temple, while his Dharakot plate[153] dated in the same year records the gift of the village Gundaja in Jaya Katakavishaya of Kangodamadala in Dakshina Tosala. Thus Subhakara III was the Lord of both Northern and Southern Tosalas and the latter included in it Kangodamandala, which was once the territory of the Sailodbhavas.

After the death of this ruler there appeared some troubles in the dynasty of the Bhaumakaras as there was no direct male heir to succeed him. But at the time of this crisis his widow mother Tribhuvana Mahadevi I, the daughter of the diadem of the Naga dynasty assumed the reins of administration for some time, and when she passed away her grandson (perhaps daughter's son) Santikara II, who was also known as Lonabhara I and Gayada II became the king of both the Tosalas. Santikara II married Hiramahadevi, daughter of Simhamana, a scion of the Mana family and begot on her two sons who ascended the Bhauma throne one after another. The eldest son Subhakara IV surnamed Kusumahara II, is known to us from his Talcher plate dated in the year 141 (877 A.D.).[154] His Queen Prthvimahadevi, also known as Tribhubana Mahadevi, was the daughter of Svabhava Tunga identified with Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta the Somavamsi King of Kosala, her mother being Nrttamadevi, the daughter of Yasovrddhi, an obscure figure in History.[155] The younger son of Santikara II was Sivakara III alias Lalitahara II who succeeded his brother Subhakara IV sometimes before the year 149 (885 A.D.). The Bhaumakara Kings from Sivakara II to Subhakara III were all known as Parama-mahesvara, Paramabhattaraka, Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara, and so were Saivite in faith, while Sivakara III was a devout worshipper of Buddha like the earlier rulers of his dynasty who flourished before the time of Sivakara II. His Talcher Plate[156] executed in a Buddhist monastery named Jayasrama in the year 149 (885 A.D.) registered the gift of the village Kallani in Northern Tosala for the worship of Buddha bhattaraka at the request of Ranaka Vinita Tunga.

[152] J.B.O.R.S. XVI Pp. 69—83.
[153] J.B.O.R.S. IV. Pp. 189—194.
[154] B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* Pp. 32--39.
[155] The unpublished Baud plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi. For the identification of Svabhava Tunga see Patna Plates of Mahasivagupta Yajati in J.P.A.S.B. Vol I (1905) P. 14 ff.
[156] B. Misra, *Ibid.* Pp. 40--50.

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Sivakara III died some time before the year 158 (894 A.D.)[157] and after him Prithvimahadevi, the wife of Subhakara IV occupied the throne and was known as Tribhuvana Mahadevi II Her accession to the Bhauma throne was possible probably by the interference of her brother Yajati I Mahasivagupta who was then busy in consolidating the empire of the Somavamsis to the west of the Bhauma empire. Yajati is known to have granted a village named Chandragrama to a Brahmana named Samkhapani in South Tosala in his 9th regnal year,[158] when her sister Prithvimahadevi was probably ruling over the Bhauma empire in the year 158 (=894 A.D.). Evidently the Somavamsis were casting longing eyes on the coastal regions and were not unlikely planning for an amalgamation of both the empires under one sceptre. This must have created an alarming reaction in the Bhauma court, as a result of which Prithvimahadevi-Tribhuvana Mahadevi II was ousted from power some time before the year 160 (896 A.D.) and was succeeded by Siddha Gauri-Tribhuvana Mahadevi III, the wife of Sivakara III and the daughter of Rajamalla of the Southern Country. The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi III dated in the year 160 (896 A.D.)[159] gives sufficient indication of a chaotic state of affairs in the Bhauma Court immediately before her accession. It reveals that Tribhuna Mahadevi, who declared herself a Parama Vaishnavi devout worshipper of Vishnu), was pleased to protect the fortune of the Kara Kingdom at the request of a great circle of Chiefs, who were anxious to see the quick celebration of her coronation, and following the example of Sri Goswamini of the past she mounted on the throne like Katyayani.

Tribhubana Mahadevi was succeeded successively by two of her sons viz. Santikara III alias Lavanabhara (Lonabharaa II) and Subhakara V, both of whom appeared to have left no male issues behind them. Subhakara V is the last known male ruler of the Bhaumakara family and after him a number of ladies ascended the throne one after another till the dynasty ceased to rule sometime in the 10th century A.D. The immediate successor of Subhakara V was his chief Queen Gourimahadevi after whom the throne passed to her daughter Dandimahadevi, who styled as Parama Mahesvari, Paramabhattarika, Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvari. The dates of Dandimahadevi are 180 (916 A.D.) and 187 (923 A.D.) known respectively from her Ganjam[160] and Kumurang[161] plates and both these plates testify to her firm hold upon the whole of South Tosala during these years.

[157] This is the date of the unpublished Baud Plate issued by Prithvimahadevi.
[158] Ep. Ind. III Pp. 351—55.
[159] J.B.O.R.S. II, Pp. 419—27.
[160] Ep. Ind. VI Pp. 133—40. *Ibid.* Pp. 40—42.
[161] J.B.O.R.S. V Pp. 564—77.

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Dandimahadevi was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahadevi, the second queen of Subhakara V and the daughter of a Bhanja ruler, and she in her turn was succeeded by Dharma Mahadevi, the widow wife of Santikara III. Dharma Mahadevi was sufficiently advanced in age by the time of her accession and was probably the last ruler of the Bhaumakara dynasty, the extinction of which has been attributed to the domestic feuds fanned by the external powers like the Somavamsis and the Bhanjas.[162] The dynasty at last was supplanted by the Somavamsis of South Kosala, who got possession of the coastal regions of Orissa probably after Dharma Mahadevi by the middle of the 10th century A.D.

(D) The Garjat Tracts

By the time when the Bhaumakaras were ruling over the coastal regions of Orissa the upland regions in the West was under the rule of several petty dynasties who were very probably subordinate to them. Among these ruling families the most important were the Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala, the Tungas of Yamagartta Mandala, the Nandas of Airavatta Mandala, the Barahas of Banai Mandala and the Bhanjas of Khinjali Mandala and of Khijjinga Kotta.

The Sulkis

Of all these ruling families the Sulkis are known to be the earliest, because they were flourishing as a strong power as early as the 6th Century A.D. The Haraha inscription[163] of Samvat 611 (=554 A.D.) reveals that the Maukhari prince Isana Varman vanquished the Sulikas who fought him with an army of countless galloping horses, and these Sulikas may well be identified with the Saulikas of the *Brhat Samhita*[164] and the *Markandeyu Purana*,[165] where they have been described as belonging to the South East in the neighbourhood of Kalinga, Vidarbha and Chedi. A number of copper plate charters issued by the Sulki rulers have come to light from the Dhenkalal-Talcher tract, and we know from them that these rulers were dominating over the Kodalaka Mandala, comprising the middle Brahmani Valley with their headquarters at Kodalaka, identified with modern Koalu, where various relics and monuments of great antiquity are still to be seen.[166] A comprehensive genealogy of the family may be obtained from the Talcher grant[167] of Kulastabha and the Dhenkanal grant[168] of Jagastambha, according to which

[162] I.H.Q. XXI Pp. 213—22.
[163] Ep. Ind. XIV. Pp. 110—21.
[164] XIV—8. [165] LV .
[166] Pt. B. Misra, Dynasties of Medieval Orissa, P. 27.
[167] Ep. Ind., XII, Pp. 156—58.
[168] J.B.O.R.S., II, Pp. 412—17.

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Kanchanastambha, the ornament of the Sulki family was the earliest ruler of Kodalaka Mandala. The next King Kanadastambha, alias Kulastambha I appears to have consolidated his power, defecting and killing a Chief named Dhekata, after which he assumed the proud title of Vikramaditya. Pandit Binayak Misra is probably right when he identifies the vanquished Dhekata with the legendary Savara Chief Dhenka, after whom the place is named as Dhenkanal, and whose memorial stone, known as the Dhenka Savara Munda (head of Dhenka Savara) is even now honoured by the local people.[169]

Kulastambha I Vikramaditya was merely a Ranaka, but his successor Ranastambha styled himself a Mahasamantadhipati in his Dhenkanal grant which is dated in the year 103(=839 A.D.)[170] Evidenly, Ranastambha was a feudatory of the Bhaumakara monarch Subhakaradeva III whose Dharakota and Hindol plates are dated in the same year 103 (=839 A.D.), and as such, the first ruler Kanchanastambha, the grand-father of Ranastambha may be placed contemporaneously with the Buddhist ruler Subhakaradeva I who was flourishing in 790 A.D.

Ranastambha, alias Alanastambha was succeeded by his eldest son Kulastambha II who was styled as Maharaja and Gondamadhinatha, the lord of the Gondamas. Gondama was probably the territory occupied by the Gonda people and that land is generally believed to be the modern Pal-lahara area of Orissa. After Kulastambha II his brother Jayastambha succeeded to the throne and assumed the high-sounding titles of Maharajadhiraja and the Lord of all the Gondamas. He seems to have challenged the suzerainty of the Bhaumakaras by asserting his independence as a result of which the Sulki power met with serious reverses and during the time of Nidayastambha,[171] the son of Jayastambha the Sulkis were supplanted by a new dynasty named Tunga, who established their lordship in the eighteen Gandama lands owing allegiance to the Bhaumakaras of Tosala.

The surname "Stambha" used by all the Sulki rulers appears significant. It indicates that the Sulkis were the worshippers of the Goddess Stambhesvari, who is mentioned as the tutelary deity of this tribe in the Dhenkanal grant of Ranastambha. The Bhanja rulers of Khinjali Mandala continued to pay obeisance to this Goddess and even now she is widely worshipped in

[169] Pa. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa*, P. 32.

[170] For this Dhenkanal grant vide J.B.O.R.S. II, Pp. 396—400.

The reading of the date portion of this grant is controversial. R. D. Banerji reads it as 33 (Hist. of Orissa, I, P. 193). But the first symbol of it is clearly *lu* which means 100 and the other figure is 3. See in this connection Pt. B. Misra, Op. Cit. P. 33.

[171] See the Dhenkanal grant of Nidayastambha in J.B.O.R.S. II, Pp. 409—12.

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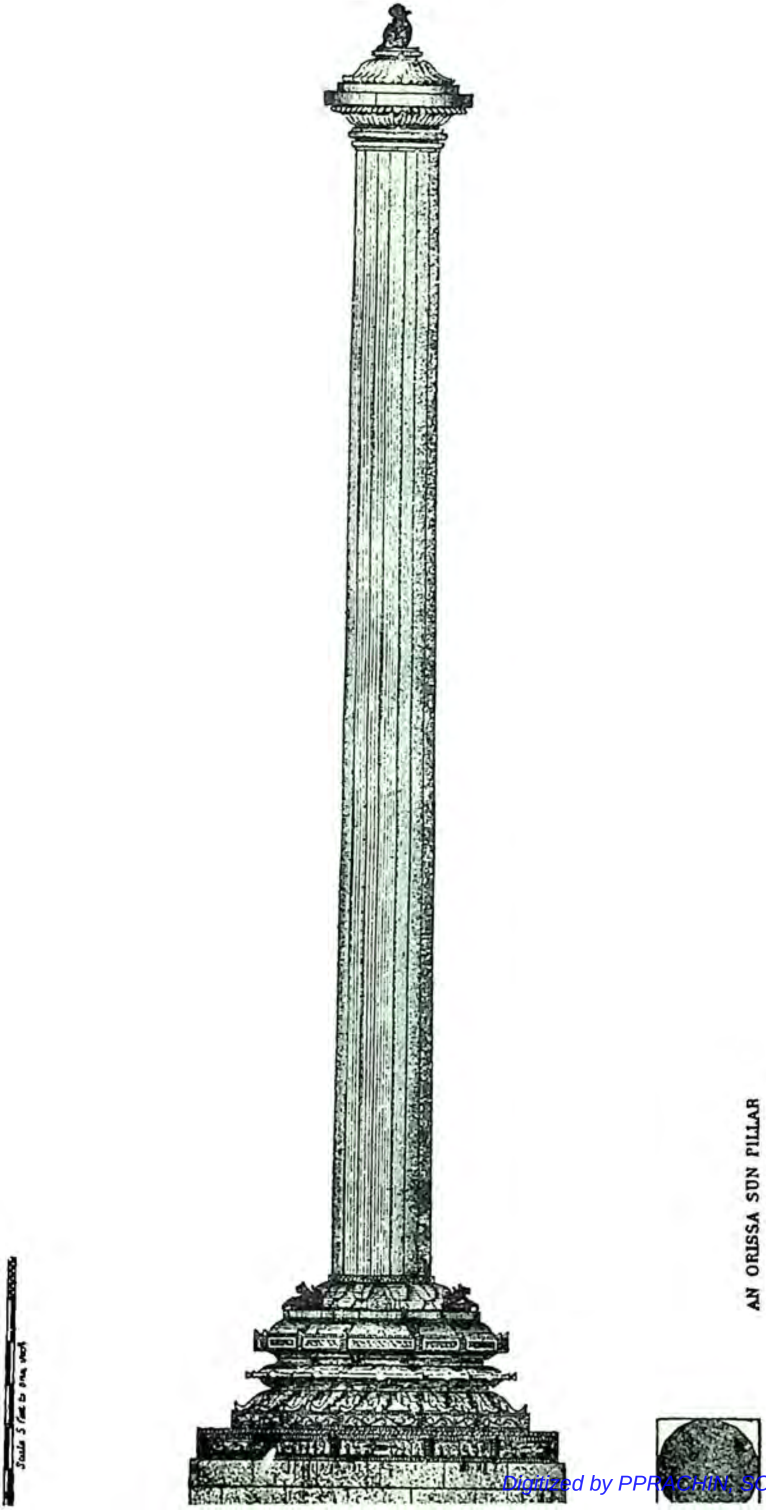

AN ORISSA SUN PILLAR

(from outside the Gate of Jagannath.

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Western Orissa, mostly by the aboriginal inhabitants viz. Kandhas, Gonds and Dumals.

THE TUNGAS

The Tunga rulers are known to have been ruling over Jamagartta Mandala which is located by Pt Binayak Misra in modern Pallahara area.[172] If their headquarters Jamagartta be identified with the present village Jamagadia in Angul, this Mandala was fairly extensive in area, embracing the boundary of Kodalaka Mandala of the Sulkis.

A copper plate grant issued by a King named Jayasimha in the year 99 i.e. 835 A.D.[173] reveals that this ruler who styled himself as the lord of all Gondamas was then ruling over Jamagartta Mandala as a vassal of the Bhaumakara monarch who was probably Subhakaradeva III. Jayasimha declares that he obtained the "five great sounds" from the Vasaka (town) on the bank of the river Mandakini, which is identified with the stream flowing under the same name near Jajpur, the then capital of the Bhauma empire. His territory was probably occupied by the Sulki Chief Kulastambha II who called himself a Maharaja and the lord of the Gandamas, and shortly after that the Tunga family came to be the master of Jamagartta Mandala.

It seems extremely difficult to ascertain the relationship of Jayasimha with the Tunga group of rulers. The Tunga rulers, however, are known to have hailed from a place named Rohitasa which is generally identified with the modern Rotasgarh in Bihar;[174] but we feel inclined to identify this place with Ratagarh near Banki in the district of Cuttack. Altogether three copper plate grants of this family are available at present, out of which one was issued by Vinitatunga and the other two by Gayadatunga. This Vinitatunga appears to be the Ranaka or the feudatory of the Bhaumakara ruler Sivakaradeva III whose Talcher plate dated in the year 149=885 A.D. was issued at his request. In his copper plate charter Vinitatunga calls himself Maharaja Ranaka, lord of the eighteen Gondamas and also as one who obtained the "five great sounds." His father was Khadgatunga, who was probably the son of another Vinitatunga hailing from Rohitasa.[175]

A very different genealogy is, however, obtained in the two charters[176] of Gayadatunga from which we come to know

[172] Pt. B. Misra, Op. Cit., P. 23.

[173] J.B.O.R.S., II, Pp. 417—419.
This may also be read as year 19, in which case it will mean the regnal year of the ruler.

[174] J.A.S.B., XII, New Series, 1916, Pp. 291—95.

[175] Bonai plate of Vinitatunga, J.B.O.R.S. VI, Pp. 238—240.

[176] For these two charters, vide J.A.S.B. Op. Cit., and J.A.S.B., V, New Series, 1909 Pp. 347—50.

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that Jayatunga the father of Salnatunga and the grand-father of Gayadatunga came from Rohitasa to rule over Jamagartha Mandala. But it is not possible at present to correlate these two families of the Tunga rulers and to build a satisfactory chronology of them. That both these families belonged to the same stock is known from the facts that both of them hailed from the same Rohitasa and they both were of the Sandilya Gotra.

THE NANDAS

The Nandas, who were ruling over Airavatta Mandala are known to us from two copper plate grants[177] of a Chief named Devananda alias Vilasatunga, one of which is dated in the year 193=929 A.D. Devananda, therefore, may be regarded as one of the vassals of either Dandimahadevi or Vakulamahadevi of the Bhaumakara dynasty. Both the grants present almost the same genealogy extending over four generations which starts from Jayananda, the lord of the Gonds, who in all probability was flourishing in the first half of the 9th Century A.D. Jayananda's son Parananda was the grand-father of Devananda, who was the son of Sivananda. But we know nothing about the activities of these rulers as no other charters belonging to this family have come to light at present. Devananda was a devout Buddhist, a Parama-Saugata, and he is called in his charters as the chief of the great Samantas.

The place named Jayapura from which the two grants were issued is yet to be satisfactorily identified, but there seems little difficulty in locating the Airavatta Mandala as this district also finds mention in the Narsinghpur charter of Udyota Kesari,[178] wherefrom it is known that the villages Kontalonda and Lova-Karada, identified with modern Kantilo and Karada respectively were situated within that district. In the light of this, the Airavata Mandala may well be located in the modern Khandapara, Nayagarh and Ranapur tracts of Puri district.

THE BARAHAS

The Banai Mandala located in the modern Bonai region was under the rule of the Baraha rulers, who are known to us from the Bonai grant of Udaya Varaha.[179] The grant reveals that Udita Varha, the grand-father of the donor hailed from the hermitage of Vasistha at Chitrakuta, and that he belonged to the Mayura family, which is corroborated by the peacock emblem on the seal of the grant. Udita Varaha was succeeded by his son Tejo Varaha, after whom Udaya Varaha who styled as Maharaja Ranaka ruled over the Banai Mandala. He was a

[177] Pt. B. Misra, Op. Cit., Pp. 36—37.
[178] J.B.O.R.S., XVII, Pp. 1—24.
[179] J.B.O.R.B., VI, Pp. 241—45.

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devout Buddhist—a Parama Saugata, and he also assumed the feudatory epithet the "obtainer of five great sounds."

The Baraha rulers of the Bonai region were supplanted by the Bhanjas of Khijjingakotta, and an inscription on the pedestal of an Avalokitesvara at Khiching discloses that one Dharani Varaha, probably a scion of this family, engraved that image with a co-assistant named Kirtti for the King Raja Bhanja, who was flourishing in the 11th or the 12th Century A.D.[180]

THE BHANJAS

The Bhanja dynasty of Orissa ruled from two separate territories, namely, Khinjali Mandala and Khijjingakotta, situated respectively in the southern and the northern parts of Orissa, and the common origin of these two branches, as postulated by some scholars, is yet to be satisfactorily proved.[181] The location of Khinjali Mandala, which was divided into two distinct parts, is also not properly made, and the identification by Pt. Binayak Misra, of Southern Khinjali with Khijaripara in Baud, and of Northern Khinjali with Hijjali in Angul cannot be accepted.[182] Tarini Charan Rath,[183] states that "Khinjali, according to traditional accounts, is believed to be a tract of country forming part of the Baud State, and from it the smaller States of Ghumsur and Dasapalla are said to have been carved out." But he also remarks that "the ancient State of Ghumsur was formerly known as the Khinjali country". It appears, however, that the early Khinjalimandala was confined to the Baud region, and when afterwards the Bhanjas established themselves in different parts of Southern Orissa, they named those territories after the original Khinjali State.

The earliest Bhanja rulers are known from two copper plate charters, one of Nettabhania discovered from Baud[184] and the other one of Sri Satrubhanja found from Tekkali,[185] and both these plates are fortunately dated. It is known from the Baud plate that Nettabhanja was flourishing in the year 98 i.e. 834 A.D.[186] in the city of Angulaka, modern Angul, exactly by the time when Jayasimha was ruling over Jamagartta Mandala. The noticeable fact is that both these rulers do not mention their predecessors in their grants and they stand alone and isolated in history and eventually both of their authorities passed to the

[180] Annual Report, Arch. Surv., 1922-23, P. 128.

[181] See the attempt of the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal to draw up a genealogical table of all the Bhanja Kings in Ep. Ind., XVIII, P. 286.

[182] J.B.O.R.S., XVII, P. 105.

[183] Ep. Ind. XIX. P. 42.

[184] J.B.O.R.S., XVII, P. 104 ff.

[185] Ibid., XVIII, P. 387 ff.

[186] This may also be read as the year 18, in which case it will mean the regnal year of the ruler. For a newly discovered plate of Nettabhanja, See O.H.R.S.J. Vol. 1 No. 1, Pp. 60—62.

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hands of the Tungas who occupied Jamagartta Mandala including the Angul area shortly after them.

The Tekkali plate of Sri Satrubhanjadeva alias Mangalaraja, which is dated in Samvat 800=742 A.D. supplies a genealogy which starts from the great-grand-father of the donor Sri Yatha Sukhadeva who may be placed in the second half of the 7th Century A.D. Yatha Sukhadeva's son was Sri Mallagambhiradeva, whose son Sri Silabhanjadeva was the father of Sri Satrubhanjadeva the donor of the grant. Very little is known about the first two persons of this genealogy, but the third one Sri Silabhanjadeva alias Angandi is generally regarded as the founder of the royal dynasty, whose name ending "bhanja" was invariably borne by all subsequent rulers of the family.[187] The mention of a village called Silabhanjapati found in the copper plate charter of the Somavamsi ruler Yajati I Mahasivagupta, also supports the view that Silabhanjadeva had a royal status.[188] His son Sri Satrubhanjadeva is called a Raja, and the ornament of the spotless Bhanja family and scholars like R. D. Banerji are inclined to believe that he was a rebellious vassal of the Bhaumakara kings.[189] From the fact that his seals are mentioned as the Maharajakiya Mudras, and that he is called the lord of both the Khinjalis, it is not unreasonable to regard him as a semi-independent King who was responsible for the consolidation of the Bhanja power in Khinjali. A close study of some of the plates of Ranabhanja, the son of Satrubhanja reveals that the latter was also known as Gandhata, who was very probably connected with the foundation of the town of Gandhatapati, modern Gandharadi, the ruins of which preserve till to-day the glorious antiquities of the Bhanjas.

Satrubhanja, as known from his Kumarakela Charter[190] ruled at least for fifteen years and after him his kingdom passed to the hands of his son Ranabhanja who styled like his father as the "lord of both the Khinjali." In his Tasapaikera grant[191] Ranabhanja declares himself as Ranaka, the lord of both the Khinjali and a devout worshipper of Vishnu, born of the family produced from an egg, and also as one who obtained the five great Sounds, as well as the favour of the Goddess Stambhesvari. In his Singhara plate[192] dated in regnal year nine, he also declares to have received the five great Sounds and boasts of the fact that his feet were worshipped by the great feudatories. He

[187] See in this connection, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *Outline of the Hist. of the Bhanja Kings of Orissa* (Dacca University Studies, 1939), p. 3.

[188] Ep. Ind., III, Pp. 351—55.

[189] R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa,* I, p. 166.

[190] J.B.O.R.S., II, P. 429 ff.

[191] *Ibid.,* P. 167 ff.

[192] *Ibid.,* VI, P. 481 ff.

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assumed the title of Maharaja in his Baud grant[193] issued in the 54th regnal year, indicating that the family had grown in power and prestige in the interval. Altogether eight of his charters have come to light ranging between his 9th and the 58th regnal years, and so his rule must have lasted for a very long period till the first quarter of the 9th Century A.D.

The death of Ranabhanja marks a significant change in the fate of the Bhanja rulers who now left Khinjali Mandala comprising Baud and Daspalla regions, and established themselves in a new State consisting of the northern part of Ganjam and Nayagarh-Ranapur tract. Dhrtipura the capital city of Khinjali Mandala was deserted for good and the victorious Vanjulvaka came to be the headquarters of the new State. The noteworthy fact is that the Bhanja Kings after Ranabhanja no longer assumed the title "lord of Khinjali," although the new territory was given the name Khinjali. Evidently the Bhanjas were defeated and ousted from their original kingdom by the growing powers of the Somavamsis,[194] who eventually occupied the whole of Orissa.

Nettabhanja I alias Kalyana Kalasa, the son of Ranabhanja, was responsible for the change of territory and the later history of this family is known to us from two of the charters of his nephew Vidyadharabhanja.[195] It is not yet known for certain whether Digabhanja the brother of Nettabhanja I, and his son Silabhanja II, actually became kings or not, but Vidyadharabhanja, alias Amogha Kalasa, the son of Silabhanja II was without doubt a great ruler of this dynasty. His wife mentioned as the Trikalinga Mahadevi was probably the daughter of a Somavamsi ruler of Trikalinga with whose alliance Vidyadharabhanja appears to have consolidated his position. Both he and his successor, Nettabhanja II assumed the title Maharaja and ruled over the kingdom of Khinjali for sometimes in the 10th Century A.D. But little is known about this dynasty after Nettabhanj II and although the Jurada grant[196] of this ruler refers to his son the Yuvaraja Rayabhanja it is difficult to say whether he actually ruled or not.

Two sets of copper plates[197] issued by one Yasobhanja and his brother Jayabhanja, which were found at Anti-gam in Ganjam district, throw considerable light on the later history of the Bhanja rulers, who were very probably connected with the older family of Silabhanja and Satrubhanja. The first ruler of

[193] Ep. Ind. XII, P. 322 ff.

[194] Ranabhanja was defeated and killed in the battle by Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta the Somavamsi king.

[195] Ep. Ind. XVIII, Pp. 296—98, IX, Pp. 271—77.

[196] Ep. Ind., XXIV, P. 15 ff.

[197] Antirigam charter of Yasobhanja, Ep. Ind. XVIII, Pp. 282 ff., 298 ff. Antirigam Charter of Jayabhanjadeva, Ep. Ind. XIX, P. 41 ff.,

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this group is Devabhanja who is described in both the Charters as Rajadhiraja and his son Rayabhanja, grandson Virabhanja, and great-grandson Rayabhanja II are all described as Kings of the Bhanja family in Khinjali. King Yaṣobhanja in his Charters calls himself the lord of the whole Khinjali, and he is also described as Jagadekamalla Vijayi, Vanquisher of Jagadekamalla. Rakhaldas Banerjil identifies this ruler with the Mehara Chief Jagamalla, a feudatory of Chalukya King Bhima II of Gujrat of V. S. 1264(=1207 A.D.);[198] but we are inclined to take him to be Jagadekamalla II of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani, who flourished during 1139—49 A.D.[199] Thus both Yasobhanja and Jayabhanja may be assigned to the 2nd and the 3rd quarters of the 12th Century A.D., and as Ranabhanja the last ruler of Khinjali Mandala (comprising the Baud region) is known to have ruled till the beginning of the 9th Century A.D., the Bhanja rulers of Khinjali (the Ganjam region) from Nettabhanja I to Jayabhanja should, therefore, be placed between 9th and the 12th Centuries A.D.

It is, however, known at present that the Bhanjas were not totally ousted from the original Khinjali Mandala after Ranabhanja. A Baud Charter of Kanakabhanja,[200] which on palaeographical consideration is almost contemporary with the Antarigam plates discussed above, reveals a line of three Kings, viz. Sölanabhanja, his son Durjayabhanja and the latter's son Kanakabhanja, who were ruling over Khinjali Mandala where the river Tel was flowing. This definitely proves that the Bhanjas continued to rule over the Baud region as late as the 12th Century A.D. The Ll. 4-5 of the Charter of Kanakabhanja mentions that an elephant force of this Bhanja King broke in upon the lord of Gauda and others, as a result of which the latter were completely routed in the battle. We can only explain this boast of Kanakabhanja if he be regarded as a contemporary and an ally of Chodagangadeva, who had to fight in Cir. 1125 A.D. a victorious battle against the King of South Bengal.[201]

In Northern Orissa a very important Bhanja dynasty ruled over the kingdom of Khijjinga, comprising the modern districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The earliest history of this dynasty is known from two sets of copper plates issued by a

[198] Hist. of Orissa, I, Pp. 185—86.

[199] See in this connection I.H.Q., IX. 1933, P. 759.

[200] R. D. Banerji thinks that the Charter of Kanakabhanja is a spurious one (J.B.O.R.S. March, 1928, P. i-xiii); but the genuineness of it has been strongly asserted by Charu Chandra Dasgupta, Vide I.H.Q. IX, Pp. 752—769.

[201] See the Kenduapatna Copper plate in J.A.S.B. 1896. The King of Bengal by this time was probably Kumarapala, the successor of Ramapala, and Chodaganga's invasion appears to have taken place before the rise of Vijayasena, who usurped the throne after defeating and killing Gopala III the successor of Kumarapala.

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King named Ranabhanja and his son and successor Rajabhanja, which were found from Jamdapir in Bamanghaty.[202] According to these records Virabhadra, the Adibhanja, also called Ganadanda, came out of the egg of a peahen in the hermitage Kotyasrama, where he was brought up by the sage Vasistha and in his family flourished Kottabhanja, who was succeeded by Digabhanja, the father of Ranabhanja. Out of this group of rulers Kottabhanja is rightly regarded as the first historical King of the family and he was probably the founder of the capital city Khijjingakotta, identified with modern Khiching. The successor of Kottabhanja was Digbhanja, also known to us as Durjayabhanja[203] and Vibhramatumga.[204] His son Ranabhanja, who called himself a Maharaja and subsequently Maharajadhiraja, was probably the first independent king of this dynasty. His Jamdapir plates, as well as the Adipur Charter of his brother Narendrabhanja I, are issued in the years 288 and 293 respectively, and assuming these years to be of the same era as used by the Bhaumakara rulers, it may be said that Ranabhanja was ruling towards the close of the 9th Century A.D. It is, however, extremely difficult to ascertain the genealogy of this dysnasty after Ranabhanja owing to the conflicting accounts found in the charters of the subsequent kings. Four different rulers viz. Rajabhanja,[205] Vibhramatunga,[206] Satrubhanja[207] and Prthvibhanja[208] claim to be the sons and successors Ranabhanja, and there is no other way but to take these four names as representing only one ruler, as otherwise there is the scope of four separate Ranabhanjas ruling at the same time over the same territory. In that case Narendrabhanja,[209] the son of Satrubhanja, Narendrabhanja,[210] son of Prthvibhanja, and Durjayabhanja,[211] son of Vibhramatunga may also be regarded as identical person. Very little, however, is known about the activities of these rulers, but the glorious antiquities found at present at Khiching, Ayodhya, Badasahi, Adipur etc. testify to the jealous patronage of all these bhanja Kings towards various religious sects, particularly towards Saivism and Tantric Buddhism. Narendrabhanja II, the last known Bhanja King of Khijjinga was probably flourishing in the middle of the 10th Century A.D. after which the

[202] J.A.S.B., XL. 1871, Pp. 161—67; Ibid. Pp. 168—69. See also Ep. Ind., XVIII, Pp. 300—1.

[203] See the Kesari plate of Satrubhanja, I.H.Q. XIII.

[204] The Adipur plate of Narendrabhanja I, dated in the year 293. The original plate is preserved in the Baripada Museum.

[205] See the Jamdapir plate, J.A.S.B. XL. 1871, P. 161 ff.

[206] Adipur plate of Durjayabhanja, in the Baripada Museum.

[207] Kesari Plate, *Op. Cit.*

[208] Ukhunda plate, I.H.Q., XIII, P. 418 ff.

[209] Khandadeuli Charter, J.B.O.R.S., IV, P. 172 ff.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Adipur plate of Durjayabhanja, *Op Cit.*

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Bhanjas appear to have been superseded by the Somavamsi rulers of Utkal.[212]

(E) SOUTH KOSALA

Our study of the history of Medieval Orissa will remain incomplete without a survey of the history of South Kosala as this territory comprised a considerable portion of Western Orissa, and as the political movements in one greatly influenced those in other during this period. Roughly speaking, the country of Daksina Kosala consisted of the present Raipur and Bilaspur districts of C.P., and Sambalpur, Patna and Kalahandi districts of Orissa. Literary evidences make us believe that Vidarbha (modern Berar) was the heart of the ancient Kosala,[213] and it was probably the fact in the 2nd. Century A.D., when the Satavahana kings were ruling over the Northern Deccan. One of the Nasik Cave inscriptions[214] includes the territory of Vidarbha in the list of territories enjoyed by Gautamiputra Satakarni (C. 106-130 A.D.) who is generally believed to be the patron-friend of the celebrated Mahayanist teacher Nagarjuna. The recently published Gunji rock inscription,[215] of Bilaspur district, supposed to be of the 1st. Century A.D., mentions a king named Kumaravara Datasiri and two of his ministers Boddhadata and Idadeva who were famous for their munificent gifts to the Brahmanhas. But the striking absence of any other reliable evidences makes us unable to reconstruct the history of South Kosala before the 4th Century A.D. The pall of darkness is, however, removed by the flashes of light coming from the famous Allahabad inscription of Samudra Gupta, from which we know that a King named Mahendra was ruling over South Kosala about the middle of the 4th Century A.D. who recognised the overlordship of the Gupta Emperor during his Deccan campaigns. South Kosala was probable not annexed to the Gupta empire, but that it was within the sphere of Gupta influence is proved by the use of Gupta Coin types,[216] as well as of the Gupta era by her subsequent rulers.

Unfortunately, we do not know anything about the successors of King Mahendra and a great gulf of time separates him from the kings of Sarabhapura, who appeared in the 6th century A.D. The gulf has, however, been bridged by the

[212] We know of one Juvaraja Kottabhanja, from the Adipur Charter of Durjayabhanja alias Narendrabhanja II, but there is no evidence as to whether he actually ruled or not.

[213] *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. II. No. 1. Pp. 1-3.

[214] *Ep. Ind.* VIII, P. 60 ff, *Luderss List* No. 1123.

[215] *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. 1, No. 3 Pp. 217-218, Vol. II No. 3, P. 173.

[216] The silver coins of Prasannamatra bear the figure of Garuda together with the discus and conch symbols.

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Arang Plates[217] of Maharaja Bhimasena II issued in the Gupta year 282=A.D. 601, which records the continuous rule of six generations of kings over Kosala. The earliest ruler of this record is known as Maharaja Sura who was succeeded by his son Maharaja Dayita I and the latter by his son Maharaja Bibhisana. After Bibhisana his son Maharaja Bhimasena I ruled the kingdoom and was at last succeeded by his son Maharaja Dayita Verman II, whose son and successor Maharaja Bhimasena II issued the Arang plates from the bank of Suvarnanadi (son ?). The reign of Maharaja Sura, who flourlished six generations before 601 A.D. may approximately be assigned to the second half of the 4th Century A.D. and in that case he may reasonably be connected with King Mahendra, the contestant of Samudra Gupta. Thus, the Arang group of rulers may tentatively be taken as Mahendra's successors in South Kosala, who ruled from the middle of the 4th Century to the beginning of the 7th Century A.D.

THE SARABHAPURIYAS

Another ruling family of Kosala, the Sarabhapuriyas of whom we know more from a number of copper plates, seals and coins, flourished in the 6th Century A.D., sometimes contemporaneously with the Arang group of rulers. The family has been named after its progenitor Sarabha who was also the founder of the city of Sarabhapura. This place has been identified by L. P. Pandeya with Sarabhagarh, the chief town of the modern Zamindari of that name in the district of Sundargarh in Orissa,[218] and although many other identifications have been suggested, this seems to us quite plausible.

Sarabha, the founder of the Sarabhapuriya dynasty is referred to in the Pipardula grant,[219] issued from Sarabhapura, as the father of Maharaja Narendra, and he is also further identified with Sarabharaja mentioned in the Eran pillar inscription[220] of the Gupta year 191 or 510 A.D. This inscription records that a prince named Goparaja, the son of Madhavaraja and the daughter's son of Sarabharaja, gave friendly help to the great ruler Bhanugupta in a battle where he died and that his devoted wife accompanied him by cremating herself in the funeral pyre. In the light of the dated inscription of Eran we may fix the rule of King Sarabha and his son Narendra in the later part of the 5th Century and the early 6th Century A.D. respectively when the Gupta rule was in the process of decline. Kosala by this time seems to have acknowledged the supremacy

[217] Hiralal, *Descriptive Lists of the inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, Pp. 83-85.
[218] *Proceedings of the Fifth Orient Conf.* P. 461ff.
[219] *I.H.Q.* XIX, P. 139 ff.
[220] *C.I.I.*, III, P. 91.

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of the Vakatakas and King Harisena (C. 475-510 A.D.) in his Ajanta inscription claims to have conquerred Kuntala, Avanti, Lata, Kosala and Andhra.

The first great ruler of the Sarabhapuriyas who apparently restored the independence of the dynasty was Maharaja Prasanna Matra, whose relationship with Maharaja Narendra has not been clearly known. In all the copper plate charters of this family the name of Prasanna Matra is found at the beginning of the genealogy, and the fact that this ruler also struck gold and silver coins of his own,[221] clearly indicates him as the first independent king of this line.

The son and successor of Prasanna Matra was (Maha) Jayaraja who according to his Arang grant[222] ruled at least for four years, but his brother Mana Matra who is very often wrongly identified with the Rastrakuta Mananka of the Undikavatika grant,[223] is not known to have ruled at all. Jayaraja was succeeded by the son of Mana Matra, called Maharaja Sudevaraja, whom we know from four of his charters, discovered at Raipur,[224] Sarangadh,[225] Arang,[226] and Khariar,[227] all issued from the headquarters Sarabhapura. Sudevaraja ruled at least for ten years and was succeeded by his brother Maharaja Pravararaja who is known to have effected the transfer of capital from Sarabhapura to Sripura. His Thakurdiya grant,[228] was issued from this new capital during the first half of the 7th Century A.D. and this was the time when a struggle for supremacy was going on between the Sarabhapuriyas and the Panduvamsis, then a petty power in Central India. Pravara is known to be the last ruler of the house of Sarabha, and he was probably defeated and killed by the Panduvamsi King Tivaradeva who issued his charters from Sripura in the middle of the 7th Century A.D. assuming the title *Prapta Sakala Kosala-dhipatya* (the obtainer of sovereignty of the entire Kosala).

THE NALAS

Our knowledge of the Nala dynasty of South Kosala is derived from 2 Copper-plate grants and 2 Stone inscriptions so far discovered. They are ;

(*i*) Kesaribeda C. P. grant of Maharaja Arthapati Bhattaraka (*J.B.R.S.*, XXXIV, p. 33 ff)

(*ii*) Rithapur C. P. grant of Arthapati Bhavatta Varman (*E.I.*, XIX pp. 100 ff)

221 *New Hist. of the Indian people*, VI, P. 87, Fn. 3.
222 *C.I.I.*, III, Pp. 613 ff.
223 *Ep. Ind.*. VIII, Pp. 195 ff.
224 *C.I.I.*, III, Pp. 197 ff.
225 *Ep. Ind.*. IX. Pp. 283 ff.
226 *M.K.S.P.*, II, Pp. 39-40.
227 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, P. 172 ff.
228 *Ep. Ind.* XXII, P. 15 ff.

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(*iii*) Podagadh Stone Inscription of Skandavarman
(*E.I.*, XXI pp. 153)

(*iv*) Rajim Stone Inscription of Vilasatunga
(*E.I.*, XXVI pp. 49 ff)

From the above inscriptions we come to know of the following facts about the Nalas.

About the 5th century A.D. the Nalas were ruling in the Eastern part of Mahakosal comprising the modern ex-State of Bastar and the Koraput District of Orissa. Probably they invaded the Vakataka kingdom and occupied their capital Nandivardhan as known from Rithapur plates. Later on they were defeated by the Vakatakas who probably occupied their kingdom which was recovered by Skandavarman Bhavadatta as indicated by Podagadh Stone Inscription. So they were contemporaries of the Vakatakas and also the Sarabhapuriyas who were ruling in the western part of Mahakosala. From Rajim Stone Inscription of the 8th century A.D. we come to know that the Nalas were ruling in the Rajim area where the Panduvamsi king Mahasivagupta Balarjuna was ruling about the period. Most likely the Nalas occupied the kingdom of the Panduvamsis who moved down to Sambalpur-Sonepur area. The Rajim Stone Inscription furnishes us with three names of the kings of the dynasty:

1. Prithviraja. 2. Virupa Raja. 3. Vilasa Tunga.

We do not know how they were related to the earlier group, represented by Arthapati Bhavadatta and his son Skanda Varman, or how the course of events moved after Skanda Varman till Prithviraja and subsequent to the reign of Vilasatunga. These gaps remain to be bridged by subsequent discoveries of materials relating to the Nalas.

The Panduvamsis

The Panduvamsi rulers who superseded the rule of the Sarabhapuriyas in South Kosala trace their pedigree from a remote anscestor named Udayana, who was a petty chief in Central India. According to the Rajim[229] and the Baloda[230] grants Udayana was the great grandfather of king Tivara, whose date may be assigned to the second half of the 7th. Century A.D. in the light of the Kondedda,[231] Nivinna,[232] and Puri[233] grants of Dharmaraja, the Sailodbhava monarch of Kangoda. Apparently Udayana was not separated by a big gulf of time from King Sarabha, the founder of the Sarabhapuriya family, and the rise of these local chiefs to prominence indicate the

229 *C.I.I.*, III P. 294 ff.
230 *Ep. Ind.*, VII, P. 104ff.
231 *Ibid.*, XIX, Pp. 265-270.
232 *Ibid.*, XXI, Pp. 34-41.
233 *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, Pp. 175-78.

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weak hold of the Imperial Guptas over the political conditions of Central India during that period.

According to a Sripur inscription[234] Udayana was succeeded by his son Indravaia, and the latter is known to have got at least four sons, of whom the eldest one Nannadeva succeeded him in course of time. It was during the reign of Nannadeva that the Panduvamsis invaded Daksina Kosala and occupied some portion of it (Cir. 600 A.D.) and the hero of the Kosala invasion is believed to be one of the brothers of King Nanna named Isanadeva, whose Kharod inscription[235] in the district of Bilaspur is the earliest known record of the Panduvamsis. Nannadeva's son and successor Tivaradeva, as has been mentioned above, occupied the whole of Daksina Kosala from the hands of the Sarabhapuriyas, and called himself Kosaladhipati i.e. the lord of Kosala. He is known to us from his Rajim and Baloda grants incised in late box headed characters which are issued in his 7th. and 9th regnal years respectively. V. V. Mirashi assigns Tivaradeva to the middle of the 6th. century A.D. taking him to be the contemporary of the Vishnukundin Madhava Varman I (525-568 A.D.), who claims to have delighted the hearts of the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Tivara.[236] But as noted above, he was definitely a contemporary of the Sailodbhava Dharmaraja who defeated him in a battle fought near the Vindhyas sometimes in the second half of the 7th Century A.D. Evidently, the dates of the Vishnukundins and Sailodbhava require an adjustment in consideration of the date of Tivaradeva, which appears to be the central pivot.

Tivaradeva was succeeded by his brother Chandra Gupta, whom Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar identifies with the prince of the same name, who is mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amogha Varsha I (Saka Samvat 793) to have been defeated by the Rashtrakuta Govinda III (C. 794-814 A.D.).[237] But if Tivaradeva be taken to be either the contemporary of the Vishnukundin Madhava Varman or of the Sailodbhava King Dharmaraja, the identification of Chandra Gupta as proposed by Dr. Bhandarakar will be untenable, and besides, Chandra Gupta of the Sanjan plate is not mentioned as the king of South Kosala. It is known from a Sirpur temple inscription[238] of Balarjuna that Chandra Gupta's son Harsha Gupta married Vasata, the daughter of a king Suryavarman who is generally identified with the Maukhari Prince of the same name, the son of Isanavarman.[239] The Haraha inscription dated in Samvat 611 reveals that Suryavar-

[234] *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, P. 179 ff.
[235] Hiralal, *D. L.* p. 113 ff., No. 149.
[236] *Ep. Ind.* XXII, Pp. 19-22.
[237] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, P. 233 ff.
[238] *Ep. Ind.*, XI, P. 191 ff.
[239] Jha Com. Volume, Pp. 225-26.

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man caused a dilapidated temple of Andhakari Siva to be repaired during the life-time of his father. He is not mentioned in any of the dynastic records to have been a king and as Isanavarman was succeeded by another son named Sarvavarman, Prince Suryavarman appears to have predeceased his father. So the Varman king, who was the father-in-law of Harsha Gupta, need not be identified with Suryavarman of the Haraha inscription, who flourished in Samvat 611, i.e. 555 A.D. as the date of Harsha Gupta may be ascribed to the first half of the 8th Century A.D.

Chandra Gupta was probably succeeded by his son Harsa Gupta who is mentioned as a King on the seal of the Lodhia copper plate[240] of Mahasiva Gupta-Balarjuna, but unfortunately we know very little about him. Balarjuna is, however, known to us from a number of records of his time, and according to his Lodhia grant, he ruled at least for a period of 57 years. His territory was of considerable extent and he is known to have granted lands in Khadirapadraka and Vaidyapadraka located in the present Kalahandi district. His date may be assigned to the second half of the 8th. Century A.D. and the ruins of Sirpur in Raipur, of Ranipur-Jharial in Balangirpatna and of Belkhandi in Kalahandi districts, are believed to have preserved the glories of his rule.

THE SOMAVAMSIS

Nothing is known for certain about the immediate successors of Mahasiva Gupta Balarjuna, who were ousted from the Sirpur region of Kosala by the rising power of the Nalas, and took shelter in the Sambalpur-Sonepur tracts. Several of their copper plates discovered so far, reveal the fact that they could within a few generations consolidate their power in these tracts, from which they steadily penetrated into the coastal regions of Orissa and occupied the whole of it in course of time. This Orissa branch is generally given the name Somavamsi in order to avoid a confusion with the Panduvamsis of the Kosala branch, although many of the later records of the Kosalan rulers refer to them as Chandranvaya, Sasadharanavaya, Somavamsa etc. The earliet known ruler of the Somavamsi line is Mahabhava Gupta Janamejaya, who was probably the son of Mahasiva-gupta Balarjuna. A Sirpur inscription[241] refers to a son of Balarjuna named Sivanandin, but nothing definite is known about him as yet. Mahabhava Gupta Janamejaya in his copper plate grants calls himself the son of Siva Gupta who may be the same as Mahasivagupta Balarjuna, and so the rule of Janamejaya may be assigned to the first half of the 9th. Century A.D.

240 *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. II, P. 121 ff.
241 Bhandarkar's List, P. 896 fn.

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Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya is known to have solidly organised the kingdom of the Somavamsis in western Orissa, and his earlier copper plate grants issued from various "victorious camps" suggest that he was busily noving from place to place in his task of consolidation. It is known from the Brahmesvara temple inscription[242] that Janamejaya occupied the Orrisa country by slaying its ruler in a hotly contested battle. That the Somavamsis were regarding the Baud region—the Khinjali Mandala—as Odra country is clearly known from other charters[243] of this dynasty. Evidently Janamejaya drove away the Bhanjas from Khinjali Mandala and the Odra king who was killed by him with his 'Kunta' is no other than the old Ranabhanja. After the occupation of Khinjali Mandala he cast his longing eyes upon the coastal empire of the Bhaumakaras and possibly occupied some territory round about Chaudwar-kataka, which according to tradition was founded by him. In his 31st regnal year he issued three of his charters from a place named Kataka[244] and this according to Pt. Binayak Misra[245] and Dr. H. K. Mahatab[246] may be identified with Chaudwar Kataka. A local tradition further reveals that Janamejaya, son of Parikshita, performed the Snake Sacrifice at Agrahata near Chaudwar, and not very unlikely the historic Janamejaya who might have performed some Vedic sacrifice at the neighbourhood of Chaudwar, has been confounded in the memory of the people with the more popular Puranic Janamejaya. It is, however, difficult to say whether Janamejaya could actually occupy some territory in south Tosala, but it is known definitely that a reconciliation was achieved between the Somavamsis and the Bhaumakaras, which was strengthened by a matrimonial alliance. Mahabhavagupta Janamejeya, who is known to us by his second name Svabhavatunga,[247] gave his daughter Prthvimahadevi in marriage to the Bhaumakara king Subhakara IV Kusumahara II, whose Talcher plate has been dated in the Bhauma era 141 i.e. 877 A.D.

Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya ruled at least for 34 years and was succeeded by his son Mahasivagupta Yajati I, who laid out the town of Yajatinagara (modern Jagati, seven miles to the west of Baud) on the bank of the Mahanadi, and made it his victorious capital. The foundation of Yajatinagara, as well as his land grant in Gandhatapati,[248] modern Gandharadi close to Jagati clearly indicate that the Khinjali Mandala of the Bhanjas

[242] *J.R.A.S.B.*, XIII (1947) P. 63 ff. [243] *Ep. Ind.* III, Pp. 351-55.
[244] *Ep. Ind.* III, Pp. 345-50.
[245] Pt. B. Misra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa.* P. 75.
[246] Mahatab, *Hist. of Orissa*, P. 60.
[247] Patna plates of Mahasivagupta Yajati, *J.P.A.S.B.* I (1905), P. 14, ff. (Pl. III a, 14.)
[248] *I.H.Q.* XXVIII, P. 227.

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had already been occupied by the Somavamsis by that time. Yajati I's hold upon the newly conquered portion of South Tosala is also known from one of his charters issued in the 9th regnal year in which he bestowed the village Chandragrama (modern Chandgan in Cuttack district) in the Marada Vishya of Daksina Tosala to a Brahmana named Samkhapani, who hailed from Silabhanjapati of Odradesa.[249] Very probably the 9th year of Yajati corresponds to the Bhauma year 158 i.e. 894 A.D. when his widowed sister Prithvimahadevi Tribhuvana Mahadevi II was ruling over the Bhauma empire.

Yajati I ruled at-least for 28 years[250] and before his death he was successful in defeating the Chaidyas of Dahala, the Kalachuri territory which was rendered depopulated by him.[251] After him his son Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta II succeeded to the throne. This ruler is known to us from his Kataka grant[252] of the 3rd regnal year, as well as from the Kudopali grant[253] of a subordinate Chief Punja of the Mathara family who issued it in the 13th regnal year of the King from Vamanda Dandapati. It appears from this that the Matharas, who were once the ruling family of Kalinga, were continuing in Western Orissa as the vassals of the Somavamsi rulers as late as the 10th Century A.D.

After Bhimaratha Mahabhava Gupta his son Mahasiva Gupta II Dharmaratha who has been called the second Parasurama for his valour ascended the throne and when he died childless the Somavamsi kingdom passed to the hands of the collateral branch of the dynasty. It may be mentioned in this connection that Abhimanyu, the son of Vichitravira, who was a younger son of Mahabhava Gupta Janmejaya, had at least two sons—Naghusha, and Chandihara, of whom the elder one Naghusha, being probably the adopted son of Dharmaratha, succeeded him after his death. Naghusha Mahabhava Gupta III is sometimes identified with the Buddhist King Nagesa of Odivisa, who according to Taranath[254] defeated one Kama-Chandra, an unspecified ruler of the east, although the contemporaneity of Naghusha with Sri Harsha as maintained by this Lama cannot be upheld.

The Brahmesvara temple inscription does not mention the name of Naghusha, but it states that after Dharmaratha the whole state suffered from chaos caused by many rebellious chiefs and orders could not be restored as a great hero was then pass-

249 *Ep. Ind.*, III, Pp. 351-55.
250 His Patna copper plate grant is dated in the 28th regnal year. *J.A.S.B.*, 1905, Vol. I (New Series), Pp. 19-23.
251 *O.H.R.J.* Vol. I, No. 4, P. 293.
252 *Ep. Ind.*, III, Pp. 355-59.
253 *Ep. Ind.*, IV Pp. 254-55.
254 *Ind. Ant.*, IV. Pp. 364-65.

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ing his days in foreign land. Dr. D. C. Sircar is right in identifying this great hero with Chandihara the younger brother of Naghusha, but his identification of the Bhatas (rebellious chiefs) with the lieutenants of Rajendra Chola seems untenable, as the Brahmesvara inscription does not indicate these chiefs as foreign invaders.

During the days of chaos Abhimanyu the bonafide father of Naghusha appears to have taken up the charge of the Government for some time, but he is not known to have played the role of a king[255] and the next ruler was his younger son Chandihara, called Yajati II Mahasivagupta III. The Maranjmura charter[256] of Yajati II, issued in his 3rd regnal year reveals that the countries of Kalinga, Utkala and Kangoda voluntarily chose him to be their ruler. The clear implication of it is that, there was some serious internal trouble in the Trikalinga country before the accession of Yajati as the remedy of which he was chosen King by the ministers of the State. The accession of Yajati II Mahasiva Gupta III may be ascribed to the middle of the 10th Century A.D. and it was probably the time when the Bhaumakara power succumbed to the aggression of the Somavamsis, and Yajati II's empire must have been a vast one extending from the Bay of Bengal in the east to Sambalpur in the West, and from Dandabhukti in the north to Ganjam in the south. During the early years of his reign Yajati was busy in foreign wars and the Maranjmura charter reveals that he could within three years subdue Kalinga, Kangoda, Utkala and Kosala and fought with the countries of Karnata in the South, Radha and Gauda in the north, and Lata and Gurjara in the West. All these conquests, if based on facts, are no doubt very great achievements for Yajati II, who appears to have revived the imperial traditions of Orissa after Kharavela.

Yajati is also known as a great champion of Brahmanism in Orissa and tradition credits him with the performance of a ten-horse sacrifice at Viraja after which the place was known as Yajnapura or Yajapura. He is also said to have built a temple for Jagannath and another for the Goddess Vimala at Puri, and the construction of the famous temple of Lingaraja at Bhubanesvara was undertaken by him, which was probably completed during the time of his son and successor Udyota Kesari Mahabhavagupta.

Udyota Mahabhavagupta IV, also called Udyota Kesari, was a very powerful ruler of the Somavamsi house and he is known to us from his Balijhari[257] and Kesarkela[258] charters, as

[255] He is not given a regal title in any of the inscriptions of the Somavamsis.
[256] *J.B.O.R.S.*, II, Pp. 52-55.
[257] *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVII, Pp. 1-24.
[258] *Ep. Ind.* XXII Pp. 138.

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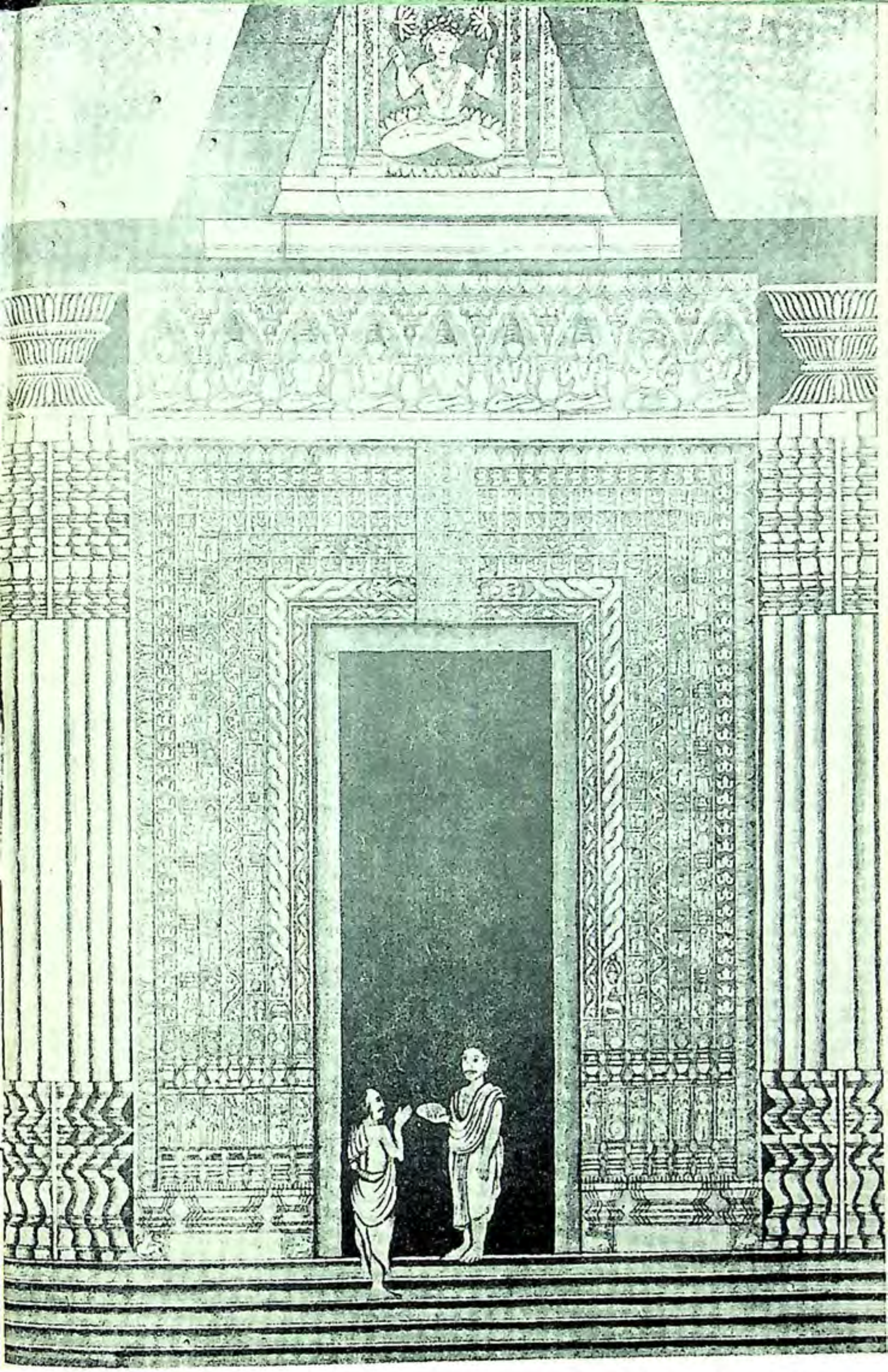

DOOR IN THE EASTERN FACE OF THE BLACK PAGODA (STIRLING)

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well as from a number of stone inscriptions of his time found at Bhuvanesvara and Khandagiri. The Brahmesvara temple inscription dated in his eighteenth regnal year reveals that he defeated the forces of Dhala, Odra and Gauda, as it were in child's play, with the help of veteran warriors and elephant corps. The Palas of Bengal and the Kalachuris of Jubbalpur region must have been his adversaries, who were defeated by him. The expression *"Bala Kridabhireva"* seems to indicate that Udyotakesari fought these battles during his early youth when his father Yajati II was ruling, and it reads like a corroboration of his father's claim of subduing Gauda, Karnato and Lata, which need not be regarded as embellished with false vanity.

Mahabhavagupta Udyotakesari completed the construction of the Lingaraja temple at Bhubanesvara, which was probably his capital and he is on that account identified with Lalatendu Kesari who is regarded by tradition as the builder of this temple. A cave of the Khandagiri near Bhubanesvara which bears an inscription[259] of Udyota Kesari, is known as the "Lalatendu Kesari Gumpha", thus lending suport to this identification. Another rock inscription[260] of the time of Udyota Kesari, incised in the 'Nava Muni' cave of Khandagiri, reveals that in the 18th regnal year of this monarch a Jaina devotee named Subha Chandra, who was a disciple of the famous Acharya Kula Chandra, came on pilgrimage to that sacred place. The inscription indicates that Udyotakesari had great respect for Jainism which continued to flourish in Khandagiri region under his liberal care. He is, however, known to us as a great champion of Saivism in Orissa and it was during his time that many Siva temples were constructed at Bhuvanesvara including the famous Lingaraja and the magnificent Brahmesvara, the latter being built by the queen mother Kolavati.

Udyota Kesari appears to be very considerate towards his relatives, and we know from the copper plate grant of Kumara Somesvaradeva,[261] a scion of his dynasty who ruled from Suvarnapura in the late 10th Century A.D. that he gave away the western portion of his empire to the descendants of Abhinyu and was himself content with his rule over the coastal territories of Kalinga, Kangoda and Utkala. Thus after Udyota Kesari the Somavamsi house split up into two branches, the Kosal branch ruling over the western hilly countries, while the main line, generally known as the Utkala branch, continued to rule over the costal regions of Orissa.

[259] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, P. 166.
[260] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, Pp. 165-66.
[261] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, Pp. 237-242.

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King Indra Ratha of the Kosala branch, who was probably a successor of Kumara Somesvara, sustained a defeat at the hands of Bhoja, the Paramara King of Dhara early in the 11th. century.[262] It was during his rule that the great conqueror Rajendra Chola (1016—43 A.D.) invaded the territories of Odravishaya and Kosalanadu sometimes in 1023 A.D. and King Indrarath was killed in the battle at his headquarters Yajatinagara while offering gallant resistance against the generals of the Chola emperor.[263]

With the death of Indraratha, the Somavamsi rule over Sambalpur-Sonepur region disappeared and was supplanted by the rule of the Chola dynasty. Cynchroneous with the foundation of the Chola rule in eastern part of Kosala, a branch of the Kalachuris of Dahala established itself in Western Kosala with Tummana as its capital. The leader of this new Kalachuri branch was Kalinga raja, whose great-grand-son Prthvideva claims himself as the lord of entire Kosala in his Amod grant dated 1079 A.D.[264] But the Sonepur region was not conquerred by the Kalachuris till the begining of the 12th Century A.D. A Ratnapur inscription[265] dated 1114 reveals that the Kalachuri king Jajalla defeated and captured a king named Somesvara who may be identified with Somesvara II, the last known Chola ruler of Sonepur[266] also known as king Bhujavala of Suvarnapura.[267]

Although the Somavamsis of Kosala branch ceased to rule after 1023 A.D., the Utkal branch continued for about a century more, till it was ousted by Chodaganga Deva in the first quarter of the 12th Century A.D. Unfortunately no reliable evidences are available about this branch of rulers to build the history of the later Somavamsis, and *Madalapanji*, the Jagannath temple chronicle, which is the only source of information, appears quite unsatisfactory and sometimes unconvincing. Several scattered evidences, however, indicate that the rule of the later Kesaris was far from being peaceful and they were the easy prey to the predatory raids of the Kalachuris from Mahakosala in the west, the Palas from Bengal in the north and the Gangas of Kalinga in the south. It is known from the Goharwa plates[268] of Krsnadeva that the Kalachuri Chedi King Gangeyadeva (who died in 1041 A.D.) "conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Anga." The hero of this invasion was Gangeyadeva's brother Kamala-

262 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, Pp. 235.
263 *Ep. Ind.*, IX, P. 223 ff.
264 *Ep. Ind.* XIX Pp. 78 ff.
265 *Ep. Ind.*, I p. 32 ff.
266 *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, Pp. 97-99.
267 Bhandarkar, No. 1249.
268 *Ep. Ind.* XI, P. 142.

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raja, who according to the evidence of the Amod plates[269] of Prthvideva, "having churned the King of Utkala with emaciated war, made over the Goddess of Victory to his overlord Gangeyadeva." Dr. D. C. Sirkar finds out a later member of the Somavamsis in a votive inscription in the Lingaraja temple of Bhubanesvara, whom he calls Viravara Kesari, the daughter's son of the Ganga king Rajaraja I (1070-78 A.D.).[270] It is, however, known for certain that this so-called Viravara Kesari is Vira Narakesari identified with the famous Ganga King Narasimhadeva I, grand-son of Rajraja III (1198-1211 A.D).[271] Gangapati of this Lingaraja temple inscription is no other than the Kakatiya king Ganapatideva of Warangal, who was defeated by Narasimhadeva I about 1240 A.D.

Sandyhakra Nandi in his "Rama Charita" mentions a Kesari ruler of Utkala named Karnakesari who was routed in the battle by Jayasimha of Dandabhukti, a feaudatory of Ramapala, assigned to the last quarter of the 11th Century A.D. The victor is said to have bestowed the Utkala country on one "*Bhavabhushana Santati*" who has been identified by some scholars with Ananta Varma Chodagana, a scion of the Ganga dynasty of Kalinga. Uncritical reliance should not, however, be placed on the statement of a Court poet, who is prone to exaggerate the claims of his master. According to *Madalapanji* the last ruler of the Somavamsis in Utkala was Suvarna Kesari who was completely defeated by Chodagangadeva sometimes before 1113 A.D., after which Utkala passed to the hands of the Gangas.

The Imperial Gangas

"The confusion in the history and chronology of Orissa," writes R. D. Banerji, "vanishes completely from the beginning of the 11th century A.D., when Vajrahasta of Kalinganagara assumed the title of Tri-Kalinga Adhipati and ascended the throne in saka 960=Sunday 9th April 1038 A.D."[272] He was Vajrahasta V of the Ganga line, and was the son of Kamarnava by Vinaya Mahadevi of Vaidumba family of the Andhra territory. His assumption of such high-sounding titles as Maharajadhiraja and Tri-Kalinga-Adhipati, clearly indicates that he was an independent ruler of the Ganga line, to which he added considerable glory. The rise of the Chola power in the south at the opening of the 11th century A.D. have been a source of great danger both for the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Gangas of Kalinga and when Rajaraja I Chola (985-1015 A.D.) led his expedition towards the north these two powers had been

[269] *Op. Cit.* (264) Ind. Cult. III, No. 1, Pp. 121-127.
[270] *Ind. Cult*, III, No. 1, Pp. 121-27.
[271] *O.H.R.J.* Vol. I, No. 4, P. 301.
[272] R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, I, P. 242.

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completely overwhelmed. Since that time, the Gangas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Cholas until Vajrahasta V declared independence taking opportunity of the disorder that prevailed in the Chola empire under Rajadhiraja, the son of Rajendra Chola, and the grand-son of Rajaraja I.

Rajadhiraja, faced with terrible rebellions in Pandya, Kerala and Simhala, perhaps considered it wiser to have friendly terms with Vajrahasta, whose son Rajaraja appears to have helped him in quelling those rebellions and it was probably during this time that Rajasundari, the daughter of Rajendra Chola, was given in marriage to Rajaraja. Chodaganga in his Korni copper plate declares that his father Rajaraja "first became the husband of the Goddess of Victory in the festival of battle with the Dramilas, and next married Rajasundari, the daughter of the Chola King,"[273] and in his Vizag Charters he clearly mentions Rajendra Chola as the father of Rajasundari.[274]

Vajrahasta himself is known to have married a Kalachuri princess named Vijaya Mahadevi, which further consolidated his position and cemented the relations of Kalinga and Mahakosala.

In the meantime the Chola King Rajadhiraja was killed in 1052 A.D. in the battle of Kopum while fighting with the Western Chalukya King, Somesvara Ahava Malla, and he was then succeeded by his brother Rajendra II, who died childless in 1063 A.D. The next ruler Vira Rajendra, the youngest son of Rajendra I Chola, bestowed Vengi on Vijayadityan overlooking the cause of his own brother-in-law Kulottunga, after which he marched against Kalinga, where probably he obtained little success. When Vira Rajendra died, his son Adhi-Rajendra ruled only for a year and a few months and then he was killed in 1070 A.D. by Kulottunga who usurped the Chola throne.[275] It was by this time that the Ganga ruler Vajrahasta died and was succeeded by his son Rajaraja.[276]

From the very beginning of his reign Rajaraja had to enter into war with Kullottunga who was then consolidating his position in the realm of the Cholas. A suitable *casus belli* was offered in the succession question of the Vengi kingdom which was forcibly occupied by Kulottunga driving his rival Viyaya-

[273] *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, Part 3.

[274] *I.A.* Vol. XVIII, Pp. 161-65; also see *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII. Rajaraja's marriage with the Chola princess Raja Sundari is a subject of great controversy; for this see J.A.S.B. LXXII. 1903. P. 108, Prof. Kielhorn identifies Rajendra Chola with Rajendra Chola II, *alias* Kulottunga Chola I, vide *Ep. Ind.* VIII, App. I, P. 17, Note 2.

[275] Historical Inscriptions of S. India, P. 82; see also *S. I. Ep. Rep.* 1925-26.

[276] See the Brhat Kodala Grant of Rajaraja in *S. I. Ep. Rep.*, 1918-19.

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ditya out of that territory.[277] Rajaraja took up the cause of the old and decrepit Vijayaditya "who was about to sink in the great ocean of the Cholas" and gave him a refuge in the western region of his kingdom till his death. Kulottunga now assumed the name of Rajendra Chola and appointed his son Rajaraja Mumadi Chola as Viceroy of Vengi, who with his general, Mummadi Bhima continued fighting with the Ganga King of Kalinga.[278] It is known from Dirghasi inscription dated 1075 A.D. that Ganapati the general of Rajaraja of Kalinga, "defeated in the battle the army of the Chola King, destroyed the troops of the King of Utkala and often defeated the King of Vengi."[279] Thus Rajaraja had to fight constantly with the Cholas and the Chalukyas in the south and the later Somavamsis of Utakala in the north, the issue of which was finally decided during the reign of his son Ananta Varma Chodaganga who conquered and annexed both the territories of Vengi and Utkala to his growing empire. When Rajaraja died in 1077 A.D. his kingdom was probably extending upto the hill Simachalam in the south, the river Rsikulya in the north, the Sea in the east and the Khimidi region in the west.

Rajaraja was succeeded by his minor son Anantavarma Chodagangadeva who came to the throne in 1077 A.D. It may be pointed out that Chodaganga was born of Rajasundari, the daughter of the illustrious Rajendra Chola, and thus he inherited in his veins the blood of both the virile Gangas and and the stalwart Cholas. His capital was located at first at Kalinganagara, identified with modern Mukhalingam, wherefrom he shifted it to Kataka, modern Sarangagada on the Katjori in 1135 A.D., which was then considered to be the centre of his rapidly growing empire. His early years, however, were spent in troublesome feuds with the neighbouring state of Vengi, which was under the suzerainty of the great king Kulottunga Chola. A Draksarama inscription mentions the invasion of Kalinga by one of Kulottunga's generals named Pallava Raya who "reduced to ashes the whole of the Kalinga Country,"[280] and this invasion appears to have been corroborated by the Tamil text the *"Kalingattuparani"* composed by Jayangondam, according to which the Kalinga expedition was conducted by one Karunakara Tondaiman.[281] Kulottunga himself refers to his Kalinga invasion in the Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (A.D. 1096)[282] in which he boasts of seizing the

[277] An inscription of Kulottunga, dated 1076 A.D. has been found in the Guntur dist. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, P. 278.
[278] *S.I. Ep. Rep.* 1921-22.
[279] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol, IX.
[280] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII.
[281] See Cantoes XI and XII of the *Kalingattuparani.*
[282] *S.I.I.*, Vol III, P. 158.

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Kalinga Mandalam whose rivers were checked by dams, and this achievement is again mentioned in a Simachalam inscription[283] dated 1111 A.D. Evidently, Chodaganga, during his early career, suffered some serious reverses at the hands of Kulottunga, but in 1118 when this great ruler breathed his last he could easily conquer the whole of Vengi. By this time he also considered himself "decorated with the rank of entire sovereignty over the whole of Utakala,"[284] and so it appears clear that he conquered Utkala sometimes before 1118 A.D. His Utkala conquest seems to have taken place in 1112 A.D. as it has been referred to in the Korni Copper plate dated in January 1113 and it was by this time that Suvarna Kesari the last of the Somavamsi rulers was completely defeated by him Chodaganga then consolidated his strength in the newly conquered territories of Vengi and Utkala and made vigorous preparations for an expedition against Bengal. The verse 30 of the Kendupatna copper plate states: "Hotly pursued by Gangesvara, the King of Mandara first fled from his capital, whose ramparts had already been destroyed by the forces of Kalinga, and then again, from the battle-field on the banks of the Ganges."[285] This Mandara has been identified with Apara-Mandara of the *Ramacharita*[286] and also with Mandaran mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*[287] and probably it is the same as the modern Bhitargarh, situated eight miles to the west of Arambagh in the Hooghly district. The Bengal invasion of Chodaganga might have taken place sometimes after the death of Ramapala in 1120, and the Kendupatna C. P. reveals that "he exacted tribute from all the lands between the Ganga (Ganges) and the Gomati Ganga (Godavari)." In 1135 A.D. he refers to his "newly made conquests of three quarters, nothern southern, and western,"[288] and this was the year when his capital was transfered from Mukhalingam to Sarangagada Kataka.

It was by this time that Chodaganga had to fight with Ratnadeva II, the Kalachuri King of Kosala, and the latter in his Kharod plate claims victory over "King Chodaganga the Lord of Kalinga."[289]

Chodaganga was not only a great warrior and a statesman, he was also a famous patron of arts and culture. From the Kendupatna Copper plate of Narasimha II it is definitely

283 *S.I.I.* Vol. III, No. 72.

284 See his Vizag Copper plates of Saka 1040, Ind. Ant. XVIII, Pp. 165-72.

285 *J.A.S.B.* (Old Series) Vol. LXV, 1896, Prt. I, P. 232.

286 *Ramacharita,* II. 5; *Memories of the A.S.B.* Vol. III, P. 36.

287 Blochmann and Jarett, Vol. II, P. 141.

288 *S.I.I.*, Vol. V. No. 1335

289 For Kharod plate See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXXII; See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, Pp. 40-43, and *Ibid.* Pp. 47-49.

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known that he caused to be constructed the great temple of Jagannatha, as well as the temple of Laksmi at Puri, and it was during his reign that Ramanuja the famous apostle of the Vaisnava cult preached his philosophy of qualified monism in Orissa. In 1142 A.D. Kamarnava, the eldest son of Chodaganga by his chief queen Kasturikamodini, was declared a joint ruler,[290] and four years after, the old emperor appears to have abdicated the throne in his favour.[291] Kamarnava, who was quite advanced in age at the time of his accession died childless in 1156 A.D. after which the throne was occupied by Raghava, another son of Chodaganga by his second wife Indiradevi. Raghava also died childless in 1170 A.D. and was succeeded by his step brother Rajaraja II whose mother Chandralekha was the third queen of Chodagangadeva. King Laksmana Sena of Bengal, who was contemporary to Rajaraja II, claims in his Madhainagar inscription[292] a victory over Kalinga which, however, appears quite extravagant. It was during the reign of Rajaraja II that the great Vaisnava poet Jayadeva flourished in Orissa and composed his famous *Gitagovinda.*

In 1190 A.D. Aniyanka or Anangabhima II was made the joint ruler with his brother Rajaraja II, and two years later after the death of Rajaraja he became the sole monarch. When he was ruling over Orissa the political conditions in northern India underwent violent changes and the Islamic power of Afghanistan and Central Asia burst upon the Panjab and the Gangetic Valley with irresistible might. Mahammad of Ghur successfully laid the foundation of Muslim domination over India by defeating the chivalrous Rajput Prthviraj Chauhan in the battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. This victory was further consolidated by his brilliant general Qutb-ud-din who decisively crushed the Rajput powers in northern India, while Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khalji occupied Bihar and Bengal by the end of the 12th Century A.D. It was during this troublous time that Anangabhima II was succeeded by his son Rajaraja III whose reign witnessed the first Muslim invasion against Orissa. We know from *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj-i-Siraj that Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji sent in 1205 A.D. two Khalji Amirs, Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmmed-i-Sheran to invade Jajnagar (Orissa), who were opposed by Rajaraja III ; but as in the meantime Muhammad Bakhtiyar was killed, these two brothers had to "come back from that quarter" achieving nothing.[293] Minhaj, how-

290 See the Puri Copper plate in *J.A.S.B.* 1895.

291 Epigraphical evidences suggest that Kamarnava ascended the throne in Saka 1069=1147 A.D., *S.I.I.* Vol. V. Nos. 1044, 1323 and Vol. VI No. 1174.

292 N. G. Majumdar. *The Inscriptions of Bengal* Vol. III.

293 *Tabaqat*, Eng. Trans. by Major Reverty, Vol. I, P. 574.

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ever, states that when Ghiyasuddin Iwaz Shah became the master of Muslim Bengal in 1212 A.D. he realised tributes from Banga, Kamarup, Tirhut and Jayanagar.[294] But this Jayanagar was very probably the same as Tippera and not Orissa.

Anangabhima III succeeded his father Rajaraja III in 1211 A.D. and almost immediately after his accession he had to face the Muslim invasion led by Ghiyasuddin Iwaz. His Chatesvara temple inscription clearly indicates that the Muslims were defeated and repulsed by the Orissan warriors led by the general Visnu. "What more shall I speak of his heroism?", declares Anangabhima in praise of this general. "He alone fought against the Muhammedan King and applying arrows to his bow, killed many skilful warriors. Even the gods would assemble in the sky to obtain the pleasure of seeing him with their sleepless and fixed eyes."[295]

Anangabhima III had also to fight with the Kalachuris (the Haihayas) of Ratnapur in C.P. and the same inscription credits general Visnu as having defeated the King of Tummana "while fighting on the banks of the Bhima, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills, and on the sea shore."[296]

Anangabhima III laid the foundation of modern Cuttack by constructing the fort of Baranasi Kataka, to which he transferred his capital. He was a devout worshipper of Jagannath and for keeping himself close to the Great Lord he built a gigantic temple for him in his new capital in the Saka year 1152.[297]

Narasimha I, the son of Anangabhima III by his wife Kasturadevi, came to the throne in 1238 A.D. He was by far the greatest ruler of the Imperial Ganga line and his name used to strike terror into the hearts of the Muslim Governors of Bengal and Oudh. By the time of his accession the Sultanate of Delhi had convulsed as a result of the death of Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish in 1235 A.D., and the scramble for succession among Ruknuddin, Razziyat, Bahram and Masaud afforded opportunity for Tughan Khan to assume undisputed supremacy in Bengal. Izzuddin Tughral Tughan Khan was, however, too ambitious to invade the territory of Orissa in in 1234 A.D. (A. H. 641) whereupon Narasimha I, "the Rae of Jajnagar" advanced towards Lakhnauti[298] and in the engagement that took place at Katasin quite a large number of Muslims were slain, while Tughan Khan saved his life by taking

[294] *Tabaqat* (Reverty) P. 587.

[295] *J.A.S.B.* (old series) Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part. 1. Pp. 322-26.

[296] *Ibid.*

[297] See the Nagari plate in *E.I.* Vol. XXVIII, Pp. 235 ff.

[298] *Tabaqat, Op. Cit.* Pp. 738-39.

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to flight. The Kendupatna Copper plate states: "The white river Ganga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping Yavanis of Rarha and Varendra, and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, was now transformed by that monarch (Narasimha I) into the black-watered Yamuna."[299] Sultan Masa'ud Shah of Delhi directed Qamruddin Tamur Khan, the governor of Oudh, to come to the help of Tughan Khan[300] but before the arrival of the Oudh armies the Orissa invaders had left Bengal at the approach of the monsoon, after sacking Lakhanor the headquarters of Rarha.

In 1246 when Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yuzbak was appointed Governor of Bengal by Sultan Balban, he made vigorous preparation to avenge the defeat of Tughral Tughan Khan and invaded Orissa sometimes in 1247. General Samanta Raya (Sabentar), the son-in-law of Narasimha I, inflicted a heavy defeat upon Yuzbak, who lost a white elephant that was considered very valuable.[301] Yuzbak, however, remained quiet for a few years, and subsequently with the help sent by Sultan Balban he succeeded in driving out the Orissan armies from their stronghold at Armardan (in Hooghly district?) sometimes before 1255 A.D. (A.H 653). With the death of Yuzbak in 1257 A.D. the hostility between Orissa and Bengal ceased for a time, but the southern districts of West Bengal, i.e. Hooghly. Howrah and Midnapore, continued to be a part of the empire of the Gangas.[302]

The greatest achievement of Narasimha I is the magnificent temple of the Sun at Konarak (Chandrabhaga), which is considered to be "the very culimination of aesthetic beauty."

After the death of Narasimha I in 1264 A.D., his son Bhanudeva I, born of the queen Sitadevi, succeeded to the throne. It was during his reign that Narahari Tirtha, who happened to be the spiritual guardian of the young prince Narasimha, actively preached the gospel of his Guru Madhvacharya in Orissa, and when this ruler was succeeded in 1278 by Narasimha II he wielded considerable political power and became for sometime the *Mandalika* (governor) of Kalinga. The year 1278 is remarkable in the cultural history of Orissa at it witnessed the construction of the temple of Ananta Vasudeva in Bhuvanesvara by Chandrikadevi, the daughter of Anangabhima III.[303]

In 1279 A.D. Tughril Khan, the Governor of Bengal, is said to have overran Jajnagar, but as according to Ziauddin

[299] Kendupatna C. P., *Op. Cit.*
[300] *Tabaqat, Op. Cit.* P. 740.
[301] *Ibid.* P. 763.
[302] R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa,* Vol. I. P. 268.
[303] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII, Pp. 150-55.

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Barni this territory was situated to the east of the Brahmaputra, it was, without doubt, the same as Tippera.[304] It is how ever known from the Kendupatna copper plate that Narasimha II granted two villages while he was "out on a campaign on the banks of the Ganges......" and thus it indicates that this monarch had to march to the northern frontiers of his empire on some military pursuits sometimes in 1296 A.D.

Narasimhadeva II was succeeded in 1306 A.D. by his son Bhanudeva II who, according to his Puri plates, is known to have dedicated his extensive empire to Purusottama Jagannath, considering himself merely the deputy of the divine overlord.[305] It was during his time that prince Ulugh Khan (Mahammad bin Tughluq) the son of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, invaded Orissa after having conquered Warangal in 1123 A.D., but he had to go back capturing only forty elephants.[306] On the other hand, we know from the Puri plates of Narasimha IV that Bhanudeva II could defeat the Sultan Ghiyasuddin who probably invaded Orissa after reducing Nasiruddin, the ruler of Lakhnauti.[307]

Bhanudeva II died in 1328 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Narasimha III whose long rule covering about a quarter of a century was peaceful and eventless. But his son Bhanudeva III, who came to the throne in 1352 A.D., was destined to encounter a stormy and troublous period, during which the very foundations of the Ganga empire were shaken by the repeated onslaughts of the Muslims. In the very year of his accession Orissa was raided by Sultan Shamsuddin Illiyas Shah of Bengal, who "led an expedition to Jajnugger in order to obtain elephants and returned to Lakhnauti."[308] Three years after that (1356 A.D.) Bhanudeva had to meet the armies of the newly founded empire of Vijayanagara, led by Sangam II, the nephew of the emperor Bukka I, and was defeated in the engagement. The Portuguese traveller Fernao Nunez states:—Bucarao (Bukkaraya) "took the kingdom of Orya, which is very great; it touches on Bemgalla."[309]

The great onslaught however, came in 1361 A.D., when Sultan Firuz Tughluq invaded Orissa and destroyed innumerable temples from Khiching (Kinianagar) to Cuttack (Baranasi). It is known from *Twarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* that the Rae who was called "Bhanu Diw" took refuge in an island of the river, while the Sultan destroyed a stone image that was worshipped within

[304] Elliot and Dowson, *Twarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,* Vol. III, P. 113.
[305] *J.K.H.R.S.* Vol. I, Pp. 251-53.
[306] Elliot and Dowson, *Op. Cit.* P. 234.
[307] *J.A.S.B.* (old series). Vol. LXIV. 1195, Part 1, Pp. 136-46.
[308] *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. II, P. 219, note I, See Ferishta, trans, by Briggs. Vol. IV.
[309] Sewell, *A forgotten Empire,* P. 300.

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the fort. The Rae then made overtures for peace giving twenty elephants to the Sultan and further agreed to furnish a certain number every year as tribute.[310] Firuz Shah thereupon withdrew from Orissa, after which Bhanudeva continued to enjoy his paramountcy till his death in 1378 A.D.

Bhanudeva III was succeeded by his son Narasimha IV, who had to fight with his southern enemies, although the north was comparatively quiet during his time. In 1381 A.D. Anavema Reddi conquered Simhachalam but the same year he was killed by the Velam Chief Singama II, who occupied that region.[311] The *Velugoti Vamsavali* also states that Singama II worsted the Gajapati King[312] in the battle, but the authenticity of this work appears very doubtful. It is known from the Anaparti[313] and the Gopavaram[314] grants that Kumaragiri, the Reddi Chief of Rajmundri, sent his general Katayavema in 1389 A. D. to invade Orissa, who forced the Ganga King to sue for peace and assumed the proud epithet of "Kataka Churakara" (the destroyer of Kataka). Another general of Kumaragiri named Devaya *alias* Goghnaya, also claims victory over the "Gajapati King" this very year.[315] But the inscriptions of Narasimha IV reveal that the Simhachalam region was under his full sway as late as 1391 A.D., and so his reverses at the hands of the Reddi Chiefs were quite temporary in their effects.

It is difficult to say when Narasimha IV was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva IV. That he was ruling as late as 1406 A.D. is known from one of the grants of his queen,[316] while the earliest known date of Bhanudeva IV is Saka 1336=1414 A.D., recorded in a Simhachalam inscription of his queen Rajuladevi.[317] Bhanudeva IV happens to be the last of the long series of rulers of the Ganga dynasty and he is variously known at Matta Bhanu, Nisanka Bhanu and Madhupa Bhanu. He had a very able minister in the person of Kapilasvara Rautaraya, whose ambition it was to retrieve the fallen fortune of the empire by an aggressive policy in the south. The Orissan armies merched towards the south in 1420 A.D. and captured the great stronghold of Kondavidu,[318] as a result of

310 Elliot and Dowson, *Op, Cit.* Pp. 212-216. For critical discussion of the invasion of Orissa by Firuz Shah, see O.H.R.J. Vol. I. No. 1 Pp. 31-35.

311 Vide the article on "Kumaragiri Reddi" *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Cong.* Calcutta Session.

312 Narasimha IV is the first Orissan ruler to bear the epithet of Gajapati.

313 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI. P. 325.

314 *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. XI, Parts 3 and 4.

315 *S.I.I.* Vol. No I.

316 *S.I.I.* Vol. No. 731.

317 *Annual Reports of Epigraphy* (1890) No. 349.

318 *Historical Ins. of S. India.* P. 213.

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which the Reddi power was completely annihilated and the Reddis of Kondavidu disappeared from history.

There is little evidence of any Muslim invasion of Orissa during the rule of Bhanudeva IV excepting a doubtful record of Ferishta, which states that Sultan Hoshang Ghori of Malwa came over Orissa in the guise of a merchant and captured the King by surprise who, however, purchased his liberty presenting Hoshang a number of elephants.[319] R. D. Banerji suggests that this episode might have taken place at Ratnapur or Tummana in C. P. and not in Orissa.[320]

Bhanudeva IV was an incapable ruler given to luxury and licentious habits and when he died childless in 1435 A.D. the throne was seized by the veteran minister Kapilesvara Rautaraya, who thus started the rule of the Solar dynasty in Orissa.[321]

THE GAJAPATIS

With the accession of Kapilendradeva the history of Orissa became vigorous and eventful. The later Ganga monarch had been considerably enfeebled by the repeated incursions of the Muslims, as well as the other neighbouring powers, and the Islamic powers in Bengal and the Bahmani states were acting like pestle and mortar, to smash the Orissan hegemony in the Deccan. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was also rapidly extending over the Eastern Coast, and under Devaraya II (1422-48 A.D.) its territorial limits in the north almost boarded the Godavari delta.[322] Under such circumstances Orissa was in need of a very strong monarch to preserve her territorial integrity, as well as to win back her fallen glories. Fortunately, she could get such an able ruler in the person of Kapilendradeva, who is generally regarded as her greatest emperor after Kharavela.

Immediately after his accession Kapilendradeva put down with a strong hand the rebellions of the Ganga princes helped by some feudatory chiefs, which engrossed his attention probably as long as 1442 A.D. This year the Gajapati issued a a warning to his feudatories in the following words:—"All Kings in my kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the paramount sovereign, and should keep to virtuous ways, and refrain from bad ways. If they act badly towards their

319 Briggs, Ferishta, Vol. IV. P. 179.

320 R. D. Banerji, *Hist. of Orissa*, Vol. I P. 287.

321 A section of opinion on the authority of the "*Gangavamsanu=Charitam* asserts that Kapilendradeva was an usurper to the throne and that when Bhanudeva came down to the south to ward off the Reddi attack upon Kalinga in Saka 1356, the ministers made Kapilesvara King at Cuttack. Vide *Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Congress* 1945 P. 205. This view has been discarded by recent researches.

322 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I. P. 290.

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sovereign they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their property be confiscated.[323] After thus consolidating his powers Kapilendra first directed his armies against the Reddis of Rajahmundry in 1443-44 A.D., and occupied their territories.[324] The Draksarama inscription dated in Saka 1366, however, indicates that the Orissan armies in their southern expedition had to face the Vijayanagar forces led by Mallapa Vodeya, the result of which was probably indecisive. But epigraphical evidences support the fact that Rajahmundry was included in the empire of Orissa by 1448 A.D.[325]

After occupying the 'rajya' of Rajahmundry, Kapilendradeva turned his attention towards Bengal. A record on the Jagannatha temple incised in the 19th Anka of his reign (1450 A.D.), refers to his victory over Mallika Parisa (Malik Padshah), the Sultan of Gaur, for which the Gajapati presented Lord Jagannatha a precious *sari* named *pundarikagopa*. It is in this record that Kapilendradeva assumes for the first time the title of "Gaudesvara," which clearly indicates that he defeated Sultan Nasiruddin of Bengal (1442-59) sometimes before 1450 A.D.[326]

The Bahmani Sultan Alauddin Ahmed II (1435-57), who was hard pressed by the Sultans of Khandesh and Malwa in the north and by the ruler of Vijayanagar in the south, was eager to seek the friendship of Kapilendradeva, who possessed a huge elephant corps of one hundred thousand.[327] But we know from the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* that Humayun Shah Bahmani, who came to power in 1458 A.D., sent a large army under Khwajah-i-Jahan to capture Devarkonda, which was then under the suzerainty of Kapilendradeva. A great battle was therefore fought sometimes in A.H. 864 (1459 A.D.), in which the Bahmani forces were defeated with a heavy loss. Humayun Shah died in September 1461, and was succeeded by an eight-year old son, Nizam Khan. Seizing this opportunity Kapilendra invaded the Bahmani empire, allied with the Kakatiya Chief of Warangal, and almost reached the gates of the capital Bidar.[328] This crushing blow was timely given on the Bahmani power, and it was very probably after thus securing his rear that Kapilendradeva marched his invincible armies against Vijayanagar.

The *Gangadasapratapavilasam*, a drama of doubtful authority, maintains that Mallikarjuna, the successor of Devaraya II, repulsed in the spirit of a lion cub the combined strength

323 *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXII, 1193, Part I, Pp. 103-104.
324 Proceedings of the I. H. Congress 1945, P. 207.
325 *Ibid.*
326 R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.*, P. 301, *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXII, 1893, Part, I, Pp. 92-100.
327 *Ibid.* Pp. 291-92.
328 *Ibid.*

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of the Hayapati (the Bahmani Sultan) and the Gajapati (the ruler of Orissa) who fled away to their respective Kingdoms.[329] Such a claim, however, appears quite exaggerated, and in the absence of any corroborative evidence, it may be regarded as unhistorical.[330] On the other hand, a number of inscriptions discovered in the Tamil territory amply testify to the decisive victories of the Orissan armies over the forces of Mallikarjuna who ruled over Vijayanagara from 1449 to 1465 A.D. This southern expedition was led by one of the sons of Kapilendradeva named Kumara Hamvira, who, according to the Ananta Varma plates of Prataparudra, "carried his arms successfully to the southern sea, where he washed his swords, stained with the blood of the enemy Kings."[331] Two inscriptions of Munnur (in South Arcot dist.) dated in the Saka year 1386=1464 A.D., reveal that Hamvira's son Daksina Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra, who was previously the governor of Kondavidu was in that year in charge of a large number of districts including Chandragiri and Tiruchhinapalla (Trichinapoly).[332] Thus, Kapilendradeva, by the year 1464 A.D., was in possession of the entire eastern sea-board of India from the Ganges to the Kavery,[333] and the Jambai Siva temple inscription[334] indicates that the South Arcot region formed a part of the Orissan empire as late as 1473 A.D.

In the Gopinathpur temple inscription Kapilendradeva is eulogised as the conqueror of the lion of Karnata, the conqueror of Gulbarga, the destroyer of Malava and Delhi, and as one who crushed Gauda.[335] We do not know whether his boasted claims over Malwa and Delhi has any historical basis or not, but the proud titles of the Gajapati, i.e. Gaudesvara, Navakoti-Karnata-Kalavargesvara etc. are no doubt parfectly justified.

This great conqueror could also set up a well-organised system of administration to consolidate his far-flung empire, and like Harsavardhana, he was personally travelling all parts of it for supervising the strategic districts. It was while he was out in such inspection tours that he breathed his last in December 1466 in one of his camps on the Krisna.

[329] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, "Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture" Vol. II, Pp. 39-40. See also Eggeling's Catalogue of Sans. MS. in the Library of the India Office, Part, VII, P. 1610.

[330] Prof. Eggeling refers this war to the war of A.D. 1449, and takes it as historical, but he overlooks the fact that there is absolutely no mention of this or any war at all in Ferishta at this period.

[331] See Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress 1945 Pp. 206-9. See also the Annual *Report of the Asst. Arch. Supdt. for epigraphy* for 1906-07, P. 84.

[332] R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.*, Pp. 294-95.

[333] An inscription issued during the reign of Saluva Narasimha in 1471 A.D. (No. 1 of 1905) suggests that the Gajapati occupied these territories as early as 1461 A.D.

[334] *Annual Report of Epigraphy* for 1906-7, P. 84.

[335] *J.A.S.B.* Vol. LXII 1883, Pp. 91-92.

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Gajapati Kapilendradeva was succeeded by his son Purusottamadeva, who ascended the throne in March 1467 A.D. The accounts of the *Madalapanji* and the *Gangavamsanucharitam* as well as those of Ferishta,[336] the Muslim historian, refer to a war of succession among the sons of Kapilendradeva, and it was probably owing to some such troubles that the accession of Purusottamadeva was delayed by three months after the demise of his great father. This interval being a period of anarchy the enemies of Kapilendra took timely advantage of it, and they aggrandised and consolidated their strength at the cost of the Orissan territories.

Soon after the death of Kapilendradeva, the young Bahmani Sultan Mahammad III (1463-82 A.D.) sent against Orissa a great army under Nizam-ul-mulk Hasan Bahri, a converted Hindu, who occupied some important forts including Kondavidu.[337] In the meantime Saluva Narasimha, the ambitious ruler of Chandragiri moved towards the north and captured all the territories south of the Godavari delta.[338] Purusottamadeva was thus faced with two great adversaries at a time when he was to consolidate his newly acquired throne. He could, however, defeat Hasan Bahri and recapture the fort of Kondavidu, after which the Muslims were driven out for a time from the Godavari delta. But when Muhammad III Bahmani personally undertook the campaign with a vast army the Gajapati monarch sustained a defeat.[339]

Purushottamadeva had to wait till he was strong enough to retrieve his prestige and, fortunately for him, the Bahmani empire plunged steadfastly into confusion as a result of the murder of the great statesman Muhamad Gawan Gilani on the 5th April 1481.[340] When the Sultan Muhammad III died in March 1482 the real strength of the empire suddenly collapsed, and his imbecile successor Mahmud Shah Bahmani was unable to bring order out of the troublous party feuds of his court. Taking this opportunity Purusottamadeva mobilised a huge strength towards Telingana, and epigraphical records of the time clearly suggest that the Orissan armies not only recaptured the strategic fort of Kondavidu, but also overran the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab including the Guntur district.[341]

[336] Briggs, "*Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*", Cambray and Co., 1909 Vol. II, Pp. 487-88.

[337] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVIII, P. 288.

[338] Ibid. P. 288, Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Pp. 90-102. See also *Saluvabhyudayam* by Rajanatha Dindima but the historical value of this is questionable.

[339] Briggs, *Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol. II, Pp. 494-96. *op. cit.*, *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. III, Pp. 515-18. See also Ind. Ant. Vol. XXVIII, P. 288.

[340] R. D. Banerjee, *Op. Cit.* P. 314.

[341] Sewell *A sketch of South Indian dynasties*, P. 48. J.A.S.B. 1900, Vol. LXIX, P. 183. See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. Pp. 155-58.

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After thus driving out the Muslim intruders from this coveted territory the Gajapati monarch directed his forces towards further south with the determination of reconquering the dominions of his great father. Saluva Narasimha had by this time usurped the throne of Vijayanagara after putting to death the Yadava ruler Virupaksa sometimes in 1485-86 A.D.,[342] and so he was now to face the irresistible strength of the Orissan armies. The Saluva was, however, overwhelmed by Purusottamdeva and gave the hands of his daughter Rupamvika (Padmavati ?) to the victor, who also took as his trophy the idol Saksi Gopala and a jewelled throne from Vijayanagara.[343] The Ratnavedi on which the images of Jagannath stand at present inside the sanctum of the Puri temple, is supposed to be this very jewelled throne, and R. D. Banerji claims to have recognised on it the bizarre arabesque of the decadent Haysala type.[344]

Purushottamdeva died in 1497 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Prataprudra who, however, appears to have lacked in vigour and skill of his father and the grand-father. At the time of his accession the political conditions in the Deccan as well as in Bengal were in great chaos, offering favourable opportunities to the new Gajapati for his task of consolidating Orissan supremacy. Mahmud Shah, the imbecile Bahmani Sultan, was unable to maintain the integrity of his empire, which was divided into five principalities, the immediate result of which was that the Muslim power in the Deccan became sufficiently enfeebled. The empire of Vijayanagara was also equally weak owing to internal dissensions, and from the death of Narasa Nayaka in 1505 A.D. till the accession of Krishnadeva Raya early in 1510 A.D. its political condition was in utter confusion. In Bengal also there were great political disorders and the hold of Alauddin Husain Shah upon the throne was then not so very firm. But Prataparudra failed to utilise to his best these earlier opportunities, and as the strength of his enemies soon increased on all sides and the political horizons of Orissa were overcast with dark clouds his discomfiture was only a matter of time.

In January 1510 Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest monarch in the history of Vijayanagar came to the throne with two great ambitions which were to snatch away from Orissa the supremacy

[342] The last available record of Virupaksa is dated Friday July 29, 1485: and the first in which Saluva Narasimha appears with the imperial titles is dated November 1, 1486. Vide Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, *Anc. India and South India Hist. and Culture* Vol. II.

[343] For epigraphical references of the conquest of Vijyanagara by Purusottamadeva vide *Anual Report of the Asst. Arch. Supdt.* for Epigraphy. (S. Circle) for the years 1913-14, P. 18. No. 156. See also the Potavaram grant of 1489 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII, Pp. 157-58. For literary references vide *Sri Chaitanya Charitamta. Madhya Lila* Bangavasi Ed. P. 98, and *Kanchi Kaveri*, by Kapilevara Vidyabhusan.

[344] R. D. Banerji *Op. Cit.* P. 316.

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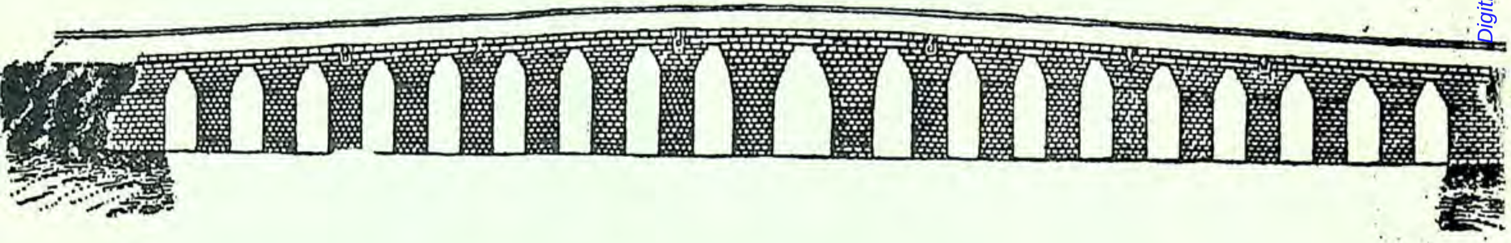
ANCIENT HINDU BRIDGE NEAR JAGANNATH



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over the eastern coast and to humble the Muslim powers in the Deccan.[345] Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda, who declared his independence of the Bahmani Sultan in 1512 A.D. rapidly strengthened his position and threatened the Telugu territories of Orissa from the south. Direct danger, however, first came from the north when Sultan Hussain Shah of Bengal (1493-1519 A.D.), eager to deliver a timely blow upon Orissa, took advantage of the absence of the Gajapati in the north and sent a large army in 1509 under Ismail Ghazi who, it is said, advanced as far as the town of Puri. The priests of Jagannath fled away with the images into the Chilka lake, while the Muslims desecrated the temple precincts. Prataparudra, who was then in the far off south, hastened back to meet the invaders, and as the latter retreated at his approach he closely pursued them to the banks of the Ganges. The Muhammadan armies saved themselves by taking shelter in the fort of Mandaran, which was also besieged by the Gajapati, but as Govinda Vidyadhara, one of his ministers, treacherously joined hands with the enemies he was forced to raise the siege and retire to Orissa.[346]

Krsnadeva Raya started his campaign against Orissa early in 1512, and at once obtained a series of brilliant victories. The Vijayanagara forces occupied Udayagiri in 1513, Kondavidu in 1515, where Virabhadra the heroic son of Prataparudra was taken captive, and Kondapalle in 1516, where one of the queens of the Gajapati, along with another son and seven principal nobles was imprisoned.[347] After Kondapalle, the next important stronghold was Simhachalam near Vizagpatam, which was also rapidly occupied by Krishnadeva Raya, who erected there a pillar of victory and inscribed the records of his success in the precincts of the Narasimha Svamin temple of the place.[348] Prataparudra was now forced to sue for peace and ceded all his territories to the south of the Godavari to Krsnadeva Raya, who also took the hands of one of the Orissan princesses, named Jaganmohini.[349]

Ferishta states that Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda captured some portions of Orissa, between Kondavidu and Simhachalam,[350] but in view of the campaigns of Krsnadeva Raya, it is difficult to rely upon the accounts of this historian. If, however, Sultan Quli actually conquered any territory in this part,

345 R. D. Banerji, Op. Cit. P. 323 ; Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, P. 316.
346 J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIX, 1900, P. 186. See also *Madalapanji* Ed. by Prachi Samiti, P. 53.
347 See the Mangalagiri inscriptions. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, Pp. 110-11.
348 Annual Report of the Arch Survey of India 1908-09, P. 170.
349 Sewell, *A forgotten Empire*, P. 320 ; for Krishnadeva Raya and his campaigns vide "The yet remembered Ruler of a long forgotten Empire," by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in "*Anc. India and South Indian Hist. and Culture*" Pp. 171-72.
350 Briggs, "*Rise of the Muhammaden power in India*" Vol. III, P. 354.

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he must have done so after the conclusion of a treaty between Orissa and Vijayanagara in 1519 A.D.[351]

After this period of infamous defeats and territorial losses, Prataparudra ruled for a long period of twenty years, and this period, which is remarkable in history owing to the activities of Sri Chaitanya and the Five-Associates, was singularly quiet and glorious. That the Gajapati was not an effete ruler is known from the fact that Orissa was absolutely peaceful and enormously prosperous in this period, and there is no evidence of any other external or internal troubles during these long twenty years of his rule. The period witnessed the splendid achievements in religion and culture and the catholic Gajapati actively patronised the intellectual movements by his unsparing liberality. Apart from the Five-Associates, a large band of scholars, philosophers and litterateurs flourished by this time among whom mention may be made of Virasimha, the Buddhist scholar. Lolla-Laksmidhara, the famous commentator of "*Saundarya Lahari,*" the reputed Kavidindima author of "*Bhakti Vaibhava*" and "*Bhakti Bhagavata*", Sri Rai Ramananda, the writer of the drama "*Jagannathaballabha,*" and Pandit Godavara Misra, the composer of "*Yoga Chintamoni.*" Prataparudra himself, like his father Purusottama, is known to be a profound scholar, and his famous "*Saraswati Vilasani*" is an admirable work of Hindu Law.

But inspite of this cultural glow, Orissa politically was fast decaying. Prataparudra's defeat at the hands of Krishnadeva Raya and Quli Qutb may be said to be the beginning of this political decay and during the time of the Gajapati the territorial limits of Orissa sank back to almost those of the later Ganga period. The cause of this decline is attributed by scholars to the religious influence of Sri Chaitanya over the people of Orissa in general and Gajapati Prataparudra in particular.[352] But it should be remembered that although Sri Chaitanya visited Orissa early in 1510 A.D., he did not settle down here till 1512, and that his meeting with Prataparudra took place sometimes in 1513 A.D., when the latter had already encountered a series of reverses in his war against Krsnadeva Raya. It cannot, however, be denied that Sri Chaitanya and the Five-Associates cast a vigorous influence upon the socio-religious life of the people by this time, but the act of making this influence responsible for the humiliating defeats of the Gajapati is not based on critical reasoning. The Jagannatha consciousness that inspired the Orissan warriors to undertake successful campaigns under Kapilendra and Purusottamadeva, cannot be said to have damped their martial spirit under Prataprudra, and

[351] R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* P. 330. See also *J.A.S.B.* Vol LXIX, 1900, P. 185.

[352] R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* Pp. 330-36.

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moreover, there is very little reliable evidence regarding the interference of Sri Chaitanya and the Five-Associates in the military and political affairs of the State, with which they were least concerned. R. D. Banerji places uncritical reliance on some Gaudiya works like, *Chaitanya Charitamrta, Chaitanya Bhagavata* and *Chaitanya Mangala,* which are prone to exaggerate the influence of Sri Chaitanya on Prataparudradeva. It may be pointed out that nowhere in any of his inscriptions, which are so numerous and in any of his literary works Pratap-rudra speaks of Sri Chaitanya as his Guru, and that contemporary literature, either Sanskrit, Oriya, or Bengali, has not declared Sri Chaintanya a royal preceptor. On the other hand we know definitely that Kavidindima Jivadevacharya the court poet, was the royal Guru (*Srijeebah Kabidindimo nripaguruh*: RASB Skt. Cat. VII. P. 277 ; *Rajguru jeebadevacharya birachite* Ibid pp. 277-78). The Gajapati is found saluting and invoking Lord Jagannath as his Master, and thus the claim of the Gaudiya writers of a later generation regarding the spiritual relation of Sri Chaitanya and Prataparudradeva requires revaluation.

P. Mukherjee observes that the strength of Orissa had been sapped by the wars of aggrandisement waged by Kapilendra and Purusottama, and that the people who plundered the wealth of the subjugated territories began rolling in luxury and developed an aversion to military pursuits.[353] The opinion of Mukherjee is supported by the fact that the Orissan soldiers put very weak defence even for such strategic places as Kondavidu and Kondapalle, and also that Prataprudra in his fight against Krishnadeva Raya had to hire Muslim mercenaries to protect his disrupting empire.[354] The internal dissensions of Orissa may also be counted as an important factor of her decline, and attention may be drawn in this connection to the treacherous conduct of the minister Govinda Vidyadhara, who openly sided with the enemies during the war of the Gajapati against the Sultan of Bengal in 1509 A.D. Over and above this, it may be said that Krisnadeva Raya the veteran enemy of Orissa was one of the most powerful emperors in the history of India, and Pratap-rudra, who had not the calibre of a Kapilendra, and who was then faced with grave dangers both from outside and inside, was naturally incapable of resisting his determined invasion. We are, thus, disposed to believe that Sri Chaitanya and the Five-Associates can in no way be blamed for the decisive defeat of the Gajapati at the hands of the mighty Tuluva emperor, and that the ultimate decline of Orissa was more due to political than religious causes.

Prataparudradeva, in spite of his early reverses, was success-

[353] P. Mukherjee, *Hist. of Medieval Vaisnavism in Orissa* P. 173.
[354] R. D. Banerji *Op. Cit.* P. 325.

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ful in maintaining peace and order in his empire, but immediately after his death, which took place early in 1540 A.D. Orissa became just like a ship without a rudder and plunged into the whirlpool of anarchy and confusion. Two of his sons, whom we know by their nicknames as Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva, ruled one after another only for about a year, and both of them fell victims to the treachery of the notorious Govinda Vidyadhara,[355] who usurped the throne in 1541-42 A.D. Govinda Vidyadhara, in spite of his treacherous conduct, would have proved an efficient ruler had there been no other rivals of him equally treacherous and ambitious to obtain the throne. In 1546 A.D. when Jamshed Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda invaded Southern Orissa, the new ruler had to rush towards the south to face the Sultan with all his might, and it was by this time that Raghubhanja, a scion of the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj or Keonjhar raised the standard of rebellion, perhaps with the help of the Governor of Bengal, in order to have a *coup d'etat*. Govinda Vidyadhara, who placed his own interest above that of the State, left Southern districts to the mercy of the Muslim invaders, and hastened back towards the north to suppress his rivals to the throne. It was very probably from this time that the territories to the South of Simhachalam were cut off from Orissa for all time to come.

Govinda Vidyadhara died in *cir*. 1549 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Chakrapratap, who after an inglorious rule of eight years was murdered by his own son Narasimha Jena in 1557 A.D. But this parricide was soon assassinated in a successful plot organised by the general Mukunda Harichandan, who under Govinda Vidyadhara was the governor of Cuttack, and was ever since in the look out for an opportunity of seizing the throne. A bloody civil war then ensued between Mukunda Harichandan and prince Raghuram, the younger son of Chakrapratap, and the confusion became the worst when in the midst of this anachy the ambitious Raghubhanja again revolted and advanced from the north with the help of the Muslims of Bengal. For more than a year and a half the result of this civil war was quite uncertain, but subsequently Mukunda Harichandan succeeded in putting to sword the unfortunate Raghuram and in taking the minister Danei Vidyadhara, as well as the crafty Raghubhanja into captivity.[356] He thus obtained the throne in 1559 A.D. after crossing a pool of blood, and saved Orissa, for a time, from a state of complete political dissolution.

Mukundadeva, without doubt, was a very capable general, and as a ruler, he was skillful and formidable. But unfortunately he was surrounded on all sides by traitors and enemies,

[355] See *Madalapanji*, (Prachi Samiti), P. 56.

[356] R. D. Banerji, *Op. Cit.* P. 341.

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and the political condition during his time was more explosive than it was under Govinda Vidyadhara. With indomitable energy he drove out the Muslim allies of Raghubhanja and suppressed the enemies at home, but very soon he was involved in the strife between the Mughals and the Afghans, the result of which was disastrous for him and his country. Sultan Sulaiman Khan Kararani of Bengal who had been mortified at the defeat of his protege, Ragubhanja, turned an inveterate enemy of Mukundadeva when the latter afforded shelter to Ibrahim Khan Sur, whom the Sultan wanted to capture. The Mughal emperor Akbar, who was then planning the invasion of Bengal took note of the enmity between Orissa and Bengal and very soon entered into an alliance with Mukundadeva. There was exchange of embassies between Delhi and Cuttack[357] and the reaction of the alliance was so strongly felt in Bengal that the Sultan could not dare assist Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman, who had revolted against the Mughal emperor.[358] In 1567 A.D., when Akbar was engaged in the siege of Chitore, Sulaiman seized the opportunity to crush Mukundadeva and sent a large army under his son Bayazid. Two of the generals of Mukundadeva, named Durga Bhanja and Jihat Rai (Chhota Ray),[359] who had been sent to face the invadors, treacherously sided with the enemy and Mukundadeva himself was besieged in the fort of Kotsima on the Damodar, while the Muslim forces under Bayazid advanced up to Kataka and occupied the strong fort of Barabati in the defence of which the general Koli Samanta Simhara gave his life. It was in the midst of these calamities that Ramachandra Bhanja, the commandant of Sarangagarh—the fort near Kataka—declared himself the King of Orissa, and at the news of it Mukundadeva at once marched towards his capital after patching up a truce with Sultan Sulaiman. Ram Chandra Bhanja met him at Gohiratikiri, four miles north-east of Jajpur and in the skirmish that took place between them, Mukundadeva, the last independent ruler of Orissa fell fighting.[360] The very same day, the traitor Rama Chandra Bhanja was also defeated and killed by prince Bayazid and thus Orissa passed into the hands of the Afghans in 1568 A.D. The final blow to the crumbling edifice was dealt by one of the generals of Bayazid, the bigoted Kalapahar,[361] who is remembered in the

357 Akbarnama, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, P. 381.

358 Ain-i-Akbari, Eng. Trans. Vol. I, Pp. 319-20.

359 Beveridge reads these two names as Dugra Punj and Jihat Rai—*Akbarnama* Vol. III, Pp. 933-34. Sir Jadunath suggests that these are Raghubhanja and Chhotarai (*Hist. of Bengal*, Vol. II, P. 183).

360 Vide "Notes on *Hist of Orissa*" *J.A.S.B.* 1883.

361 For Kalaphar, See Brigg's Ferishta Vol. I, P. 560; Vol. II, P. 249; Beveridge. *Akbarnama* Vol. III, P. 1154; Elliot and Dowson Tariku-i-Diudi, Vol. IV, Pp. 41-51; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Asiatic Society publication, Vol. II P. 515.

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tradition as a renegade Hindu and has earned the greatest notoriety among all the Muslim invaders of Orissa as a cruel iconoclast and the desecrator of the temple of Jagannatha.[362] Evidently the fate of Orissa was sealed as a result of the bitter rivalries and factions among the ambitious generals, who failed to combine under a single Chief against the outside invaders, and the religious and cultural movements of the period had absolutely nothing to do with her political undoings.

THE AFGHANS

The fate of Orissa from the middle of the 16th century A.D. sank to a very low ebb, and her history entered upon a period of constant chaos and lasting decay. With the death of Mukundadeva in 1568 A.D., Orissa passed for a time to the hands of the Afghan power of Bengal. But Bengal became weak after the death of Sul'an Sulaiman Kararani in 1573, and after a short rule of Bayazid the young and impetuous prince Daud Khan ascended the throne and was at once plunged into conflict with the Moghal powers. Daud was first defeated by Akbar in 1574 and fled away to take shelter in Orissa. Munim Khan and Raja Todarmal pursued him and met him at Tukaroi on the Suvarnarekha where he was again defeated on the 3rd March 1575. Daud was finally killed in the battle near Rajmahal in 1576 and the Moghals then occupied both Bengal and Orissa although in the latter the Afghan nobles were reluctant to submit and obstinately continued their struggle for long fourteen years. The Afghans had a formidable leader in the person of Qatlu Khan Lohani who greatly consolidated the Afghan strength and fought a drawn battle with the Moghals at Tukaroi in 1584. Qatlu diplomatically acknowledged the formal overlordship of the Moghuls and became the Governor of Orissa till his death in 1590. The death of Qatlu came as a shattering blow to the Afghan powers of Orissa and as the formidable Mansimha invaded Orissa just by that time, they completely surrendered to him with little resistance. But Mansimha went back after recognising the effete son of Qatlu as the Governor of Orissa and the province once more became the hotbed of conspiracy of the Afghans against the Moghuls. Mansimha had to reconquer Orissa in 1592 when he decisively laid the foundation of the Moghul rule and he himself assumed the Governorship of Orissa till the death of Akbar in 1605. As Governor, Mansimha undertook the land revenue settlement of Orissa with the assistance of Todormal, the records of which are found in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. He interfered in the political and administrative affairs of Orissa

[362] For the activities of Kalapahar in Orissa, See Jaretti, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, P. 128; K. S. Misra *'Barabati Durga,"* P. 22; Mahatab, *Hist. of Orissa* (in Orya), Pp. 186-87; *O.H.R.J.* Vol. I, No. I, Pp. 14-19.

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by setting aside the legitimate claims of the sons of Mukundadeva and recognising Ramchandradeva the son of Danei Vidyadhar as the ruler of Khurdha and the Phantom Gajapati of Orissa. Ramchandradeva and Chhakadi Bhramaravara, the two sons of Mukundadeva had to remain satisfied with the Killas of Ali and Patia respectively.

The Moghals

Mansimha was succeeded by Qutbuddin Khan as the Subadar of Bengal and Orissa under Jahangir, but Qutbuddin met with his death in the scuffle with Ser Arghan in 1607 and Orissa was then constituted a separate Subah under the Governorship of Hasim Khan. The new Governor was very tyrannical towards the people and during his rule a Rajput chief named Kesodas looted the treasures of the temple of Jagannath with his assistance. Hasim Khan was succeeded by Kalyansimha the son of Todarmal in 1611 A.D. and his rule which lasted upto 1617 was in no way less oppressive. Makram Khan and Jalair Khan who succeeded Kalyansimha one after the other were also noted for their fanaticism and savagery, and during their regime Purushottamdev the Raja of Khurdha had to take shelter with his whole family in the inaccessible fort of Manitri to save his prestige.

Mirza Ahmed Beg was the last Governor of Orissa under Jehangir and during his time Prince Khuram who rebelled against his father came to Orissa from the South in 1626 and drove him away with the assistance of Narsimhadev the then Raja of Khurdha.

When Jehangir died in 1627 Bakhar Khan was recognised by Shahjahan as the Subadar of Orissa. He helped Aurangzeb, the then Governor of the Deccan, in defeating and reducing the Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golkunda with men and money from Orissa. He was an inhuman oppressor of the people whom he exploited mercilessly during his rule. He is known to have murdered about seven hundred Orissan landlords in cold blood inside the prisons, which brought great disgrace on him and on this charge he was removed from Governorship by the Emperor in 1632 A.D.

Bakhar Khan was succeeded by Mutquad Khan as Subadar of Orissa, but it is known from Bruton, one of the English merchants who visited Orissa in 1633, that Agha Muhammad Teherani was the Subadar of Orissa that year. Mutquad Khan returned in 1634 and remained as Subadar until 1641 when Shah Nawaz Khan was made the Governor. Shah Nawaz was discharged of his duties in 1642 and was replaced by Agha Muhammad Teherani in the Governorship of Orissa. In 1645 Mutquad Khan regained the Governorship and let loose the most shameless type of oppression in Orissa. It was at his

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instigation that Fate Khan his general murdered Narasimhadev the Raja of Khurdha, whereupon Gangadhardev a nephew of the late Raja was placed upon the throne of Khurdha by Mutquad Khan. But this arbitrary conduct soon led to great confusion and Gangadhar was assassinated by Balabhadradev, a brother of Narasimhadev, who then became the Raja of Khurdha, with the full support of the high officials of the State. Mutquad Khan was subsequently removed from Orissa in 1648. Orissa then passed under the Governorship of Prince Shah Suja who was then the Subadar of Bengal and Bihar and henceforward she ceased to be a separate Subah under the Moghals.

During the fratricidal wars (1657-59) Orissa shook off the Moghal yoke and Aurangzeb after suppressing his rival brothers had to conquer back this unruly province in 1660. Khan-i-Dauran, the Subadar of Bengal under Aurangzeb, suppressed the rebellious leaders of Orissa one after the other with great difficulties and succeeded in bringing order within a few years. He treacherously murdered Krishna Chandra Bhanja, the Raja of Mayurbhanj who was the leader of the rebellious chiefs of Orissa, after which the rebels got disheartened and calmed down. Mukundadev, the Raja of Khurda, also surrendered to him in March 1661, after a desparate resistance. After thus subduing all the feudal lords of Orissa Khan-i-Dauran reorganised the land revenue administration of the province on the line of Todarmal's settlement and consolidated the Moghal rule on a strong basis. Khan-i-Dauran ruled upto 1667 and was followed by a number of Subahdars noted for their exploitation and fanaticism.

When Aurangzeb died in 1707, Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, who had been the governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa since 1703, made himself an independent Nazim, and appointed his son-in-law Suja-ud-Din as Naib Nazim in Orissa, whose administration was somewhat popular and enlightened. Suja-ud-Din succeeded Murshid Quli as Nazim of Bengal in 1727 A.D. and made his illegitimate son Muhammad Taqi Khan the Naib Nazim of Orissa, who proved to be a very notorious governor. Mahammad Taqi imprisoned Raja Ramchandradeva II of Khurdha, and forced him to embrace Islam, who was then renamed Hafiz Qadr. A zealous iconoclast, he disfigured and broke down a large number of cult images, and desecrated and plundered the temple of Jagannath, although the temple servitors succeeded in removing the idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarsana to an island in the Chilka lake. Taqi Khan, however, did not survive long and died a mysterious death in 1734, which according to Muhammaden superstition was the result of certain witchcraft. Murshid Quli Khan II, the son-in-law of Shuja-ud-din succeeded Mahammad Tqi as Naib Nazim of Orissa and in order to win back the good-will

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of the people he not only helped a local chief Dendadeva to reinstall the image of Jagannatha in the temple but also gave the hands of one of his daughters to Hafiz Qadr, the converted ruler of Khurdha. Shuja-ud-din died in 1739 and was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan, who, however, was soon defeated and killed at Giria by Alivardi Khan, the Naib Nazim of Bihar. The Moghul emperor Muhammad Shah, who was then overwhelmed by the invasion of Nadir Shah, could not but recognise Alivardi as the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. After thus acquiring Bengal, Alivardi invaded Orissa to chastise Murshid Quli II, who had challenged his authority, and as the latter was defeated and driven, to take shelter at Muslipatam, the zemindars and generals of Orissa surrendered themselves to Aliverdi. The victor then issued diplomatic proclamations to win over to his side all the Collectors, Zemindars and Officers of Orissa, and left his son-in-law Saiyad Ahmad Khan as the Deputy Nazim of the Province. But the weakness and misrule of Saiyad Ahmed gave rise to a strong rebellion at Cuttack, led by Mirza Baqir (one of the sons-in-law of Murshid Quli II) who imprisoned Saiyad Ahmed and occupied the whole of Orissa. Alivardi then came to Orissa for the second time in 1741 and suppressed the rebellious Mirza, as well as his ally Jagadisvara, the ruler of Mayurbhanj, with great difficulty. In the midst of the battle Saiyad Ahmed was miraculously saved from the sword of his enemies and could manage to escape to the camp of Alivardi.

THE MARHATTAS

In the meantime Raghuji Bhonsla I of Nagpur, invited by Mir Habib, a friend of Murshid Quli II, sent a large army under Bhaskar Pandit, who made a surprise attack upon Alivardi and ravaged West Bengal. Alivardi Khan, however, managed to drive the Marhattas away from Bengal, but the latter retreated across the jungles and fell back upon the province of Orissa. The repeated Marhatta incursions considerably undermined the power of Alivardi and depleted his treasury. His treacherous assassination of twenty-one Marhatta generals including Bhaskar Pandit at Mankarah (near Kassimbazar) in 1744 could not check the vigour of the Marhattas and by 1747 Orissa practically came under their occupation. To add to this trouble, the formidable Afghans of Dwarbhanga and Patna raised the standard of rebellion and gave Alivardi no rest to breathe. He was thus forced to conclude a treaty with the Bhonsla in 1751, by which he agreed to pay an annual tribute of 12 lakhs as Chauth, and ceded the revenues of the Province of Cuttack to the south of the river Suvarnarekha. Orissa now slipped off the hands of the Moghuls and became a Marhatta dominion at a time when the English power was rapidly grawing in Bengal

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in the North and Northern Circars in the South. After Plassey (1757), Wandiwash (1760) and Buxar (1764), the English supremacy in eastern India was firmly established and a sort of cold war for the possession of Orissa soon started between the English and the Marhattas, which continued throughout the 18th century. Januji Bhonsla put forward persistent demand for Chauth and the Nawabs of Bengal who were then puppets in the hands of the English avoided payments on vague and doubtful pleas. Januji more than once threatened to invade Bengal but the English knew well that he was too weak to have that risk. Sivaram Bhatta, the patriotic Marhatta Subadar of Orissa under Januji was a great diplomat and observed with apprehension the ways of the English in Bengal. But Januji through British machinations foolishly removed him from power on the 24th April 1764 and remained friendly to the English at a time when their position in Bengal was at stake owing to their wars with Mir Qasim. But the English rendered no help to him at the time of his conflict with the Peshwa Madhava Rao I in 1769, and when Januji died in 1772 the question of the outstanding amount of Chauth remained quite unsettled. In 1779, on the eve of the 1st Marhatta war an alliance was made by the Peshwa, the Bhonsla, the Nizam and Hyder Ali against the East India Company. But Madhoji, the regent of the minor Raghuji Bhonsla II, was won over by the English and sent his son Chimanji Bapu ostensibly to invade Bengal. Chimanji Bapu, without marching against Bengal remained idle at Cuttack and even allowed the British army under Colonel T. D. Pearce to pass through Orissa against Hyder Ali.[363] Subsequently on the 6th May 1781 a treaty was signed between Warren Hastings and the Bhonsla, but it made no headway in solving the main problem at issue centring round the question of Chauth.

By 1799, the year which witnessed the fall of Sultan Tipu, the entire eastern coast extending upto Ganjam, came under the occupation of the English. Governor-General Wellesley very naturally planned in June 1803, just before the commencement of the second Marhatta war, to acquire the Province of Cuttack from the Raja of Berar, "so as to unite the Northern Circars by a continued line of sea-coast with Bengal.[364] When hostilities commenced early in August, Orissa was invaded both from Madras and Bengal, Lt. Colonel Harcourt[365] and Captain

[363]See in this connection *O.H.R.J.* Vol. II, No. II, Pp. 1-12.

[364] Marquess of Wellesley to Major General Wellesley, 27th June 1803, Paras 7 and 8.

[365] The command of the Madras regiment was at the beginning given to Lt. Col. Campbell who was to advance from Ganjam to Puri and then to Cuttack, but as he became seriously ill the command of these operations was entrusted to Lt. Col. Harcourt.

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Margan being entrusted to the command of Madras and Bengal regiments respectively. The conquest of Orissa by the English was practically achieved in the afternoon of the 14th October 1803, when the fort of Barabati was occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Clayton, although the legal recognition of it was made in the Treaty of Deogaon on the 17th December 1803.

Orissa under the British

Immediately after the occuation of Orissa in 1803 the English set themselves to the task of consolidation and Land Revenue Administration. In December, 1803, Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melvill were appointed as the Commissioners of the Province and were stationed at Cuttack, while James Hunter was sent to Puri as 'Acting Collector at Jagannath'. The Commissioners were given the charge of making a land revenue settlement with proper regard to the local customs and traditions. They were, therefore, compelled to maintain with certain modification the fiscal system of the Marhattas retaining the offices of the Amils, the Pharnavis and the Quanungoes. The Amils, who were the native Collectors were to submit reports of their monthly collection to the Collectors, who had general jurisdiction in all revenue matters subject to revision and control by the Commissioners. The Amils also continued to enjoy the judicial powers as they had during the days of the Marhattas and Civil suits were decided by them under the supervision of the Collectors. In June 1804 Orissa was divided into two administrative zones with the river Mahanadi as the boundary between them, and Robert Ker and Charles Grome were appointed in the northern and southern divisions respectively as the Judge Magistrate and Collector.[366] This system was, however, given up in the following year when the two divisions were made into one under the administration of a Collector. This was effected by the Regulation XII of 1805, which embodies the results of the first land revenue settlement in Orissa. This Regulation abolished the office of the Special Commissioners and empowered the Board of Revenue at Fort William to superintend the revenue administration Orissa.

The settlement of 1805 was soon followed by a triennial settlement which failed to produce satisfactory results and so in 1808-09, the settlement was made annual, a policy which connued upto 1812. In 1813 an experiment was made for two years settlement but was given up in favour of the annual one in 1815. The triennial system revived in 1816, and subsequently in 1822-23 a quinquennial settlement was adopted. These quick successions of early English land settlements indicate the inefficiency and hasty conduct of the officers who were

[366] Toyanbee—*History of Orissa.*

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in charge of the revenue administration of Orissa. The officers were, no doubt, highly rapacious and corrupt, interested more in amassing of fortune than in the lot of the poor tillers of the soil, and they were helped by a band of greedy and unscrupulous Bengali adventurers who took all possible measures to exploit the people in their own interest. The result of the land settlements was naturally disastrous to the Oriya proprietors and the cultivators alike, and the Government in its turn had to sustain great loss and to face incalculable difficulties. To this was added the trouble which resulted from the depreciation of the value of Cowries and then a sudden rise in the price of salt. In December, 1812 the Government issued the declaration that cowries would no longer be received in payment of revenue, and this came as a bolt from the blue to the poor cultivators. People were naturally led to believe that they were better off under the Marhattas than under the British.

Thus the early years of the British occupation brought about disastrous changes in the economic and social life of the people. Large number of aristocratic and reputed Oriya families were ruined and reduced to destitution and their lands were grabbed by unscrupulous proprietors who mercilessly exploited the cultivators.[367] The settlements greatly affected the economic condition of the Paiks, the landed militia of Orissa. "Deprived of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial they were subjected to the grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, Sarbarakars, and other underlings, to whom our Government entrusted the collection of the revenue and also to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police."[368] All classes of people were thus seething with discontent on account of the corrupt administration and very soon there burst out a serious rebellion as a reaction to it. In March 1817 the Khonds of Ghumsur joined with the militant Paiks who raised the standard of rebellion and the Marhatta residents of Cuttack extended full support to the rising. Buxi Jagabandhu Vidyadhar Bharamarabara Ray, the Commander-in-chief of Mukundadeva II, the last Raja of Khurda, had been reduced to a pauper by the favourites of the British officers, and as no justice was forthcoming to redress his grievances he was forced to join this great revolution to which he gave a formidable leadership. The Buxi was hailed throughout the country as a national hero and the British Government with all the political powers and military resources at their command, utterly failed to suppress him. The Paiks occupied Puri in the middle of April 1817 and the Collector was forced to retire

[367] According to Ewer two-thirds of the Oriya zemindars were completely wipped out and replaced by Bengali Zemindars within the first fourteen years of British Rule.

[368] Bihar & Orissa Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack P. 39.

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with the troops to Cuttack. Subsequently, however, the rebellion cooled down and Jagabandhu Bidyadhar surrendered himself to the English in the year 1825. He was allowed to reside in Cuttack and was granted an allowance of Rs. 100/- till his death. He spent his last days in Buxibazar, which has been named after him, and an old tank named 'Buxi Pokhari' indicates till today the location of the house of this great hero in the heart of Cuttack.

The Paik rebellion brought about a great change in the policy of land revenue administration in Orissa, and the British authorities gave serious attention to devise a stable system of settlement. Accordingly in 1835 a settlement was made for thirty years, and liberal terms were offered to the proprietors and the cultivators to increase the cultivated areas.

Orissa, however, was not prepared to accept the British Raj with quietude and the aboriginal people in the Garjat Tracts continued to give troubles to the British administrators throughout the first half of the 19th century. The Government found a plea in the act of the Maria sacrifice prevalent among the Khonds and shamelessly perpetrated the most ruthless oppression of the people in the guise of humanitarianism. The people naturally were driven to resurrection and flocking under the banners of the patriotic Khond leader Chakra Bisoi carried on a sort of Jehad against the English. Somanath Simha Jagaddeva, the enlightened and spirited Raja of Angul was suspected by the Government of complicity with Chakra Bisoi and although no clear evidence was found to prove his seditious conduct,[369] he was forcibly deposed in 1847 and was incarcerated at Hazaribag where he died in June 1853. The famous hero Sindhu Gadnaik, the commander of the troops of Raja Somnath Simha was transported for life with twelve of his friends and co-workers. But Chakra Bisoi remained undaunted. He was chased from place to place—from Ghumsur to Baud, from Baud to Madanpur in Kalahandi and thence to Atgaon in Patna State, wherefrom he proceeded to Parlakhemidi to invigorate the Savaras who had revolted against the English under the leadership of Bisoi Radha Krishna Dandasena of Gaiba. When this revolt was suppressed in 1856 Chakra Bisoi went to his stronghold on the river Tel to make preparation for the future operations. It was just by that time that the thunder cloud burst out with great uproar in India and the famous War of Independence started with irresistible force. Chakra Bisoi plunged in the war as a lone and silent soldier and has not been heard of any more.

A Puri Panda named Chakhi Khuntia (also Chandana

[369] Capt. W. W. Dunlop's Report No. 20, dated 8. 4. 1847, to the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. Also Brig. Genl. Dyce's Report to the Adjutant General, dated 20. 3. 1847.

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Hajuri), whose profession it was to recruit the sepoys as pilgrims of Jagannath, started for northern India at the outbreak of this war to join hands with his warrior-friends, but was arrested in Bihar and remained in confinement till the end of the war, when he was allowed to come back to Puri, his own home.

The greatest hero of the occasion was Surendra Sai of Sambalpur, a born rebel, whose ambition it was from the very boyhood to drive the Britishers out of his motherland. As early as 1827, when the last Maharaja of Sambalpur died, he rose against the British who nominally placed the widow Rani Mohan Kumari on the throne and ruled on her behalf. The Rani was deposed in 1833, but setting aside the rightful claim of Surendra the British authorities declared Narayan Simha from Barpali ruling family as the King of Sambalpur. Thereupon Surendra Sai gathered round him a strong band of local recruits and fought against the British with great vigour. But he was soon subdued and he, with his brother Ujjal Sai, and uncle Balaram Sai, as well as a large number of other rebels, were kept as prisoners in Hazaribag jail. In 1857 when the war of Independence started the rebellious sepoys broke open the jail and set the veteran Surendra Sai with his associates free. With the release of Surendra rebellion in Orissa took a new and formidable turn and the whole of Sambalpur flared up with unflinching spirit. Even when the war was subdued and the rebellions everywhere in India was crushed by 1858, Surendra refused to surrender and with indomitable courage carried on the fight against the concentrated actions of the British for five years more. His youngest brother Chhabila died fighting in the field and the other brother Ujjal was seized at Balangir and was hanged, while many of his dearest followers shed their life-blood in the war. But Surendra remained firm and vigorously continued the war until he was surprised and taken prisoner with his son Mitrabhanu on the 23rd January 1864, the last day of the Indian War of Independence. This great hero breathed his last as a prisoner in the historic fort of Asirgarh in 1884.

The failure of the revolutions created an atmosphere of despair in the whole of Orissa and to add to the misfortune there broke out a great famine in 1865-66 which devastated the province and demoralised the people. Although the monsoon failed in 1865 the complete apathy and negligence of the Government were the chief causes of this famine and so it was more of a man-made catastrophe than a natural one. The Government could not take adequate precaution against the seriousness of the situation until the prisoners in the jail began to fast owing to shortage of rice. In June an attempt was made to import rice from outside, but it was dropped in July, on account of mansoon. Tens of thousands of people, old and young of both

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the sexes, died of starvation and a large number of beggars and destitutes thronged in Cuttack which presented a ghastly spectacle. The famine of 1865-66 was no doubt not new to Orissa, as she had enough of experience of famine and starvation during the British rule in the past. Famines, for instance, had broken out in this Province in the years 1806, 1808, 1809, 1817, 1828, 1836, 1837 and 1842. But this particular famine, which is known as the "Na-anka" because of its occurrence in the 9th Anka (regnal year) of Raja Divyasinhadeva of Puri, was of a colossal nature and the human misery and mortality in it were horrible and incalculable.

Along with this great famine there came the devastating flood of the year 1866 which washed away the early rice crop and completely submerged all types of cultivable lands. Like famines, floods were also a common source of calamity to the people of Orissa, and since 1830 floods of serious character occurred here no less than 28 times.[370] But particularly the flood of 1866 caused widespread havoc because it visited in company of a disastrous famine and continued for a very long time, 642 square miles of land being submerged for a period varying from 3 to 60 days.

The great famine and the great flood of 1865-66 broke down the apathy and lethargy of the British authorities, whose attention was now drawn to the development of Orissa. Roads were opened up to remove the isolation of different parts of the Province and the East India Irrigation Company which was started in 1862 dug out a series of canals as a post-famine measure. The Railway line of the B.N.R. was constructed through the coastal region of Orissa and was opened in the year 1899. Some progress was also made in the sphere of education and the High English School at Cuttack which was started as early as 1841 was converted into a secondary college in 1868 and the degree classes of it were opened ten years later when it was named after T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Cuttack. The Orissa Medical School was established in 1875 following the establishment of the Cuttack General Hospital in 1874.

The question of making Orissa a separate province came to the forefront as a result of the catastrophe of 1865-66. British Statesmen like General Chasney and Sir stafford North Cote proposed the separation of Orissa and Assam from Bengal and Assam was separated in 1874. Cooke, the Commissioner of Orissa in 1895 advocated the cause of Orissa and the Government of Lord Curzon also showed full sympathy for making her a separate province. But nothing was done beyond the transfer of Sambalpur to Orissa in 1905. The Province

370 Dist. Gazetteer, Cuttack. P. 127.

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of Bihar and Orissa was newly constituted on 1st August 1912 and the Government of India hoped that it would "well accord with popular sentiment in Orissa and would be welcome to Bihar as presenting a sea-board to the Province."[371]

The Utkala Union Conference was formed in 1903[372] under the leadership of the veteran patriot 'Kula Bruddha' Madhu Sudan Das to carry forward the struggle for the amalgamation and separation of Orissa and all sections of the people joined the movement with remarkable enthusiasm. The situation, however, changed with the rise of Mahatma Gandhi in the political horizon of India and his message of non-violent non-co-operation suddenly gave birth to a new sense of nationalism in Orissa. The famous Satyabadi group of intellectuals under the inspiration and leadership of the Utkalmoni Gopabandhu Das came forward to join the all-India movement for freedom and stirred the patriotic sentiment of the Oriya people. As a result of this a clash between the Utkal Union Conference and the Orissa Congress became inevitable and when attempts of reconciliation failed both these organisations parted company in 1920-1921. The Congress movement in Orissa achieved a great success in 1930 at the time of the Salt Satyagraha. Popular enthusiasm was unbounded when a batch of Congress workers led by the Utkalamani Gopabandhu and the young Mahatab, marched on foot from Cuttack to the Inchuri Salt field, a distance of 150 miles. About 5000 patriots were arrested and even women led by Sjta. Rama Devi, Malati Devi and Sarala Devi courted imprisonment in large numbers.

The British Government following the policies of appeasement and divide and rule created in 1936 a Muslim and a Hindu majority Provinces both in the western and eastern regions of India respectively, and thus, Orissa was constituted a separate province on the 1st April 1936 with Sir John Hubback as the 1st. Governor. The election for the new Legislative Assembly was held in December 1936, in which the Congress could win as many as 36 out of 56 elected seats[373] and the first congress Government under the Premiership of Sri Bisvanath Das was formed in July 1937. This National Government had a short but eventful life, and it was soon dissolved in October 1939 on the issue of the Imperialist war. The Maharaja of Paralakhimedi, Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Dev, formed an Interim Ministry for a period to co-operate with the war-policy of the Government and to save the country from danger of invasion. But although this

[371] Simon Commission Report Vol. IV, P. 583.

[372] The President of the Conference this year was Sri Rama Chandra Bhanja Deva, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.

[373] The total number of seats at that time was 60.

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Ministry was vigorous and enlightened it was not based on popular support and so it soon collapsed.

During the August movement of 1942 Orissa witnessed an unprecedented mass rising and the jails were overcrowded with thousands of her heroic patriots while many of them gave life facing the firing and lathi charges.[374] In the district of Koraput alone, about two thousand persons were arrested, two persons including a boy of 4 years were murdered in lathi charges, 25 lost their lives in firing, 50 died of torture in the Jail, 32 were transported for life,[375] and one, the Immortal Lakshman Naiko, was made to mount the gallows.

In 1945 both international and Indian situations changed considerably and the leaders were all released out of the prisons. The Government of Lord Wavell decided that elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures would be held in the winter of 1945-46, following which the Constituent Assembly would be summoned to frame India's new constitution. In the new election the Congress party in Orissa returned with thumping majority and the Congress Ministry was formed on the 23rd April 1946 with Sri Hare Krushna Mahatab as the Chief Minister. On the 15th August 1947 India achieved her independence and Dr. K. N. Katju was made the first Governor of Orissa in independent India.

End of Volume Two

374 For a fuller description of the '42 movement in Orissa. See A. B. Patrika, Independence Number, Pp. 179-189.

375 They were released on 23rd April 1946 the date of assumption of office by Congress Ministry.

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